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(Östasiatiska Museet)
STOCKHOLM



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Rubbings of Chinese Bronzes

by

Thomas Lawton

Preoccupation with the image and meaning of written characters has always dominated Chinese study of ancient bronze ritual vessels. Beginning with the earliest Chinese illustrated bronze catalogues in the eleventh century A. D., the major concern of Chinese scholars was to preserve an accurate image of the inscriptions cast on the ritual vessels, which were esteemed as direct links with hallowed antiquity. The Song dynasty (960–1279) tradition of presenting both inscriptions and vessels in line drawings resulted in considerable variations of verisimilitude depending on the skill and erudition of the artist. Innovations in that basically linear tradition continued until the late years of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), when, with renewed interest in antiquity, the practice of making rubbings, or “ink squeezes,” (*taben* or *tuoben*) of inscriptions played a major role in the publication of bronze catalogues. While those innovations focussed initially on obtaining greater accuracy in printing the inscriptions, they gradually were applied to depicting the vessels themselves more precisely.

Although there is some disagreement as to exactly when the Chinese began to make rubbings of inscriptions, the consensus is that the practice began sometime before the Tang dynasty (618–907).¹ It was not until the Song dynasty (960–1279), however, that Chinese artisans made use of rubbings to preserve the inscriptions on archaic ritual bronzes. According to one account, the tradition of taking rubbings of

¹ Kenneth Starr provides an excellent account of the beginnings of the Chinese tradition of making rubbings, together with a precise analysis of Chinese terminology regarding all aspects of Chinese rubbings, as well as a comprehensive bibliography, in his article, “Inception of the Rubbing Technique: A Review,” *Qingzhu Li Ji xiansheng qishisui lunwen ji, shang* (Taipei: Qinghua xuebaoshe, 1965), pp. 281–302. While the major portion of Starr’s account is devoted to rubbings taken from stone inscriptions, he also includes some brief comments on rubbings of bronze vessels (pp. 296–97).

For a general English-language discussion of the Chinese tradition of making rubbings, see Robert Hans van Gulik, *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 86–101. Apparently the earliest reference to Chinese rubbings in Western literature is provided by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci. Louis J. Gallagher translated the Latin version of Ricci’s text in *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci 1583–1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 21, “They have another odd method of reproducing reliefs which have been cut into marble or wood. An epitaph, for example, or a picture set out in low relief on marble or on wood, is covered with a piece of moist paper which in turn is overlaid with several pieces of cloth. Then the entire surface is beaten with a small mallet until all the lineaments of the relief are impressed upon the paper. When the paper dries, ink or some other coloring substance is applied with a light touch, after which only the impression of the relief stands out on the original whiteness of the paper. This method cannot be employed when the relief is shallow or made in delicate lines.” Arthur Stanley, Curator of the Shanghai Museum, published a brief article, “The Method of Making Ink Rubbings,” in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. XLVIII (1917), pp. 83–84; Stephen W. Bushell provides an early short account of Chinese rubbing technique in *Chinese Art*, vol. I (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1924), p. 23. See also, Tseng Yu-ho Ecke, “The Importance of Ink-Imprints,” *Catalogue of Chinese Rubbings from the Field Museum* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1981), pp. xxiv–vii; and, from the same publication, Lothar Ledderose, “Rubbings in Art History,” pp. xxviii–xxxvi.

bronze inscriptions began in 1051 when the Song dynasty ruler Renzong (reigned 1023–64) decreed that the ritual bronze vessels and musical instruments should be taken from the imperial storehouses – the Bige and Taichang – for study and measurement. The Emperor also decreed that rubbings of the inscriptions should be made for presentation to senior officials.² If that interpretation is correct, it is noteworthy that the illustrations of ancient bronzes and their inscriptions in the earliest extant Song dynasty catalogues – such as *Kaogu tu*³ and *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*⁴ – are presented as line drawings rather than as rubbings.

The tradition of using line drawings apparently began with the Song dynasty artist and antiquarian Li Gonglin (1049–ca. 1105), who made the drawings for his own bronze catalogue, also titled *Kaogu tu*. Although Li Gonglin's catalogue has not survived, it is possible to reconstruct portions of his bronze holdings.⁵ It is conceivable that the tradition of rendering ancient bronzes in fine, *baimiao* outline drawings derives from Li Gonglin's celebrated draftsmanship, a contribution that reflects on both his artistic and connoisseurship abilities.

It was only in the Jiaqing period (1796–1821) of the Qing dynasty, more than seven hundred years after Renzong's decree, that Chinese collectors began to use rubbings to obtain more precise illustrations of inscriptions – not of the vessels themselves – in bronze catalogues. The first Qing dynasty collectors to do so were Qian Dian (1744–1806) and Ruan Yuan (1764–1849). As those two connoisseurs assembled rubbings of their own bronzes, as well as of the bronzes owned by their friends, fellow antiquarians were prompted to collect rubbings and regard them with special attention.

Qian Dian's catalogue, *Shiliuchangletang guqi kuanshi kao*, published in the first year of the Jiaqing period, has the distinction of being the earliest Qing dynasty illustrated catalogue of a private collection – the forty-nine bronzes Qian had assembled.⁶ In his preface, Qian Dian is critical of the line drawings in Song dynasty

² Rong Geng, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* (Beijing: Harvard Yenching Institute, 1941), vol. 1, p. 176. The account of Renzong's request appears in Zhai Qinian's *Zhoushi*, *shang*, 10b-11a. For a complete translation of Zhai Qinian's comment, see Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-97.

³ Compiled by Lü Dalin, *Kaogu tu* is a ten-juan work that includes a preface dated 1092 and presents Northern Song period palace and private collections of ancient bronzes and jades. Each object is illustrated, as are any inscriptions. Dimensions are noted, together with information about weight and capacity. The annotation is carefully prepared with attention given to listing the owners of the bronzes and jades. There are also comments about where many of the pieces were excavated. With this publication the essential form of all subsequent Chinese bronze catalogues was established although it is exceptional in that bronzes from more than one collection are included.

⁴ Compiled by Xue Shangong and published in 1144, this twenty-juan work presents the richest collection of Song dynasty bronze inscriptions. There is a copy of each inscription, followed by a transcription and annotation. None of the original objects is illustrated.

⁵ According to the entry in *Zhou shi* describing this lost work, Li Gonglin wrote a preface and postscript to the catalogue, and made the illustrations of each object, together with drawings of any inscriptions. It is possible to reconstruct Li Gonglin's collection and his catalogue from Lü Dalin's *Kaogu tu*, which includes sixty-two items formerly owned by Li Gonglin, the largest number from any private collection represented in *Kaogu tu* – approximately one-fourth of the total number of pieces in Lü's work. See Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Artist as Antiquarian: Li Gonglin and His Study of Early Chinese Art," *Artibus Asiae* vol. 55, nos. 3/4 (1995), pp. 237–80.

⁶ Privately printed in a woodblock edition in 1796, *Shiliuchangletang guqi kuanzhi kao* is organized in four *juan*. Measurements for each of the bronzes are based on the standard introduced during the Jianchu period (A. D. 76–83) of the Eastern Han dynasty.

bronze catalogues, which presented inscriptions as line drawings and lost the nuances of the original characters. While Qian Dian does not specifically say so, that same criticism can be made of the imperial bronze catalogues commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor (reigned 1736–95).⁷ One of the major reasons Qian Dian compiled his catalogue was to analyze bronze inscriptions as a means of investigating the origins of Chinese characters and correcting errors transmitted in the Classics and the official histories. The catalogue, which is all the more remarkable considering that it was compiled without any knowledge of *jiaguwen* inscriptions and of controlled archaeological finds at Anyang, served as a model for later compilers. Qian Dian also made a significant contribution to the study of Chinese bronze inscriptions by determining the correct names of vessels, some of which were based on Song dynasty research and resulted in some vessels being grouped together indiscriminantly in general categories.

In 1804 Ruan Yuan published his imposing compendium *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*.⁸ Ruan Yuan conceived his publication as a continuation of *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi*, assembled by Xue Shangong in the twelfth century. Ruan Yuan had reprinted *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* in 1797 and there is an obvious sense of satisfaction in the preface for his own compendium where Ruan Yuan points out that while Xue Shangong's work contained 493 inscriptions, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* presented 560 – actually there are 550. A note of poignancy familiar to all students of Chinese antiquities echoes in Ruan Yuan's comment that while characters carved in woodblocks and printed on fragile paper do not have the permanency of characters cast in metal, the Song dynasty bronze catalogues are still extant when not one of the ancient vessels mentioned in Song texts has survived.

⁷ *Xiqing gujian*, the first of Qianlong's catalogues, consists of forty *juan* and records 1,436 vessels and 93 mirrors; a sixteen-*juan* appendix, entitled *Qianlu*, illustrates and describes 567 coins in the imperial collection. On December 16, 1749, the Qianlong Emperor issued an edict authorizing the compilation of the imperial bronze collection. In their postscript the editors state that the task was completed in the fifth month of 1751. *Ningshou jianggu*, the second of Qianlong's bronze catalogues, consists of only sixteen *juan* and records 600 bronze vessels and 101 mirrors. The names of the editors who compiled this catalogue are not given and there is no date. The final two catalogues of the Qing imperial bronze collection are *Xiqing xujian*, *jiabian* and *Xiqing xujian*, *yibian*. The former, consisting of twenty *juan* with one supplementary *juan*, and recording 844 vessels and 100 mirrors, was commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor in 1781 and required twelve years of preparation. The completed manuscript was submitted to the throne in 1793. There is an additional *juan* presenting thirty-one objects that probably were treated together because, in the eighteenth century, they would have been regarded as exotica. Included among these thirty-one pieces are several Near Eastern and Indian metal vessels and weapons; there are also some coins and seals. In some instances, the Qianlong Emperor wrote long dated encomia about the exotica, a few of which apparently had no previous documentation. *Xiqing xujian*, *yibian*, completed in 1793, was compiled in Mukden and records the 800 vessels and 100 mirrors that were kept in the imperial palace there. Scholars have been especially critical of the errors that appear in this final Qing imperial catalogue, specifically noting the discrepancies in statements about the size of the vessels, their decoration, and the failure to record inscriptions and instances in which vessel types are erroneously identified.

⁸ Arranged in ten *juan*, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* presents drawings of bronze inscriptions assembled by Ruan Yuan and his friends; none of the bronzes is illustrated. Several of those friends – Zhu Weibi (1771–1840), Sun Xingyan (1753–1818), Weng Shupe (1765–1811), Qin Enfu (1760–1843), Qian Dian, He Yuanxi (1766–1829), and Zhang Tingji (1768–1848) – also contributed to the research and annotation. While Ruan Yuan's compilation is an impressive achievement, it reflects the limitations of epigraphical research during the late Qing dynasty: there are many errors in the annotation and in the dating and identification of vessel types. As was typical of that period, the inscriptions are not drawn accurately and Ruan Yuan includes a number of spurious inscriptions.

Experimentation with rubbings of ritual bronzes included making *quanxing tuoben*, “full-form” or “composite rubbings” of vessels, that provided images that appear three-dimensional, as well as indicating the position of any inscriptions.⁹ The earliest extant example of a composite rubbing of a Chinese bronze vessel presents exterior and interior views of a Han dynasty bronze basin, *Han xi* (fig. 1).¹⁰ The simple, unadorned shape of the vessel enabled Ma Qifeng to suggest three-dimensional form in the most basic terms without modulating the ink tonality, while the rubbing of the flat inner surface, with leaves, a piece of cash and the four auspicious characters *huoquan huoquan*, was a continuation of earlier rubbing traditions. An inscription to the right of the rubbing records that it was made in 1798 by Ma Qifeng, a native of Zhuanyan, Zhejiang province. Although Ma Qifeng’s rubbings were much admired during his lifetime, apparently this is the only surviving example of his work.

Several other early composite rubbings appear in Chinese bronze catalogues.

Zhang Tingji’s (1768–1848) *Qingyike suocang guqi wuwen* includes seven composite rubbings.¹¹ Zhang’s notes on the rubbings of four *jue* are dated 1822 and it is reasonable to assume the rubbings were made at about the same time (fig. 2).¹² That same date appears on the composite rubbing of a *gui* (fig. 3). While not so successful as later rubbings of this type, the examples in *Qingyike suocang guqi wuwen* – still essentially one-dimensional – display a sensitivity to formal variations that signals a marked improvement on traditional line drawings.

Zhu Shanqi’s *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi*, published in 1908,¹³ is of special interest because it includes the *Shang sanjue tu*, a remarkable composition of three composite rubbings of bronze *jue* – inscribed *yang*, *Fuxin*, and *mu Fuding* – with an encomium by Ruan Yuan (fig. 4). Since Ruan Yuan died in 1849, his inscription provides a *terminous ante quem* for the date when Chinese connoisseurs began to experiment with more complex groupings of composite rubbings.

One of the finest specialists in making rubbings during the late Qing period was the Chan Buddhist monk Dashou, also known by his *zi*, Liuzhou, (1791–1858), who continued the accomplishments of Ma Qifeng. An early composite rubbing by Dashou,

⁹ For a detailed discussion of the traditional method of making composite rubbings, see Ji Hongzhang, *Chuantuo jifa* (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1985), pp. 59–64.

¹⁰ Bao Changxi, *Jinshixie* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1877), 1 *ce*:33a–3a.

¹¹ *Qingyike suocang guqi wuwen* documents a wide variety of antiquities from Zhang Tingji’s personal collection. The first two *ce* of the compilation are devoted to thirty-nine bronzes assigned to the Shang and Zhou dynasties; the remaining twenty-five objects are dated to the Qin, Han and later periods. As Zhang Tingji acquired his collection during the Jiaqing (1796–1820) and Daoguang (1821–50) periods, he made careful notes about the people, places, dates, and prices related to each object. Those remarkably detailed notes served as the basis for Zhang’s informative catalogue entries. Consequently *Qingyike suocang guqi wuwen* is one of the most revealing of late Qing dynasty bronze catalogues relating to the practical aspects of art collecting.

¹² Rubbings of the other three *jue* appear in *ce* 1:4a–6b. Zhang Tingji also includes composite rubbings of two later bronze *jue*: one bears the name of the artisan, Lu Yi, and a date corresponding with 1365; the other has an eight-character inscription stating that it was made for the family temple of Xiang Yuanbian (1525–90) (*ce* 8:17a–18b).

¹³ Zhu Shanqi assembled his collection of 364 rubbings at the suggestion of his father, Zhu Weiwei (1771–1840), during the Daoguang (1821–50) and Xianfeng (1851–61) periods. Rubbings of bronze inscriptions included in the compilation were taken from objects owned by several famous antiquarians, including Zhang Tingji, Chen Jieqi and Cheng Hongpu. The sequence of entries in *Jingwuxinshi yiqi* is irregular, reflecting the fact that the work was still incomplete when it was published in 1908.

presenting a Han dynasty water basin, *shuangyu xi*, and its auspicious inscription *yihouwang* (fig. 5), depicts the vessel as a basic silhouette punctuated by a series of sharply articulated horizontal ridges, reserving nuances of ink for the rubbing of the inscription, an approach that reveals his indebtedness to Ma Qifeng.¹⁴ According to the inscription by Tu Zhuo (1781–1828), written at the top of the composition, he added chrysanthemum blossoms to the rubbing in 1814.

As Dashou developed a more personal technique, his later rubbings were characterized by an unusually light application of ink, described by antiquarians as *danmo ruo chanyi*, resembling a “cicada’s wing”.¹⁵ According to an entry in *Baosushi jinshi shuhua bian nianlu*, Dashou provided some of the rubbings that appear in *Yunqingguan jinwen*, compiled by Wu Rongguang (1773–1843) and published in 1842;¹⁶ a composite rubbing by Dashou is included in *Zhou jinwen zun* (fig. 6).¹⁷ Concern for light and dark contrasts, particularly visible in the rim, handles, and legs, compensates for the awkwardness of Dashou’s placement of the inscription – too close to the upper edge of the rim – and the joining of the segments of the horizontal decorative register.

Any discussion of Dashou’s rubbings should mention the *Baisui tu*, which he made for Ruan Yuan. First outlining a large *shou* character, Dashou then filled in the outlines with a collection of one hundred different kinds of epigraphical rubbings, taking a corner of one example, the upper portion of another, and the lower section of another, without presenting a single vessel in its entirety. Ruan Yuan was so delighted with the mounted scroll that he gave Dashou a generous amount of silver and presented him with a seal bearing the legend *jinshi seng* (“Monk Epigrapher”).¹⁸

¹⁴ The scroll, now in the Kyôto National Museum, is reproduced in Suzuki Kei, *Comprehensive Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Paintings, vol. 3. Japanese Collections: Museums* (Tôkyô: University of Tôkyô Press, 1983), p. 195, no. JM11–069. Dashou’s seal, Liuzhou, is affixed at the lower left of the rubbing. In an inscription written below the rubbing, Wu Tingyang (1799–1870) states that he saw the scroll in July 1864. An inscription by Wang Chuan (born 1847) added at the right edge of the composition is dated in correspondence with June 9, 1876.

¹⁵ The term “cicada wing” is also applied to a very thin white paper sprinkled with mica and sized with an alum solution, to which an unusually large quantity of glue has been added. Chinese artisans used “cicada wing” paper when making “dry” rubbings. See van Gulik, *op. cit.*, p. 89. According to the entry in *Zhongguo meishujia renming zidian* (Shanghai: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1980), p. 1241, Dashou was a native of Haining, Zhejiang province. His secular surname was Yao.

¹⁶ *Baosushi jinshi shuhua bian nianlu*, xia 9a, Dashou mentions that in 1840 Wu Rongguang selected some of his best rubbings for inclusion in *Yunqingguan jinwen*. Only one of the rubbings published in *Yunqingguan jinwen* – the inscription on a Han dynasty *dou* (juan 5:41a-b) – is specifically identified as having been made by Dashou.

Yunqingguan jinwen was published in 1842. In his preface Wu Rongguang states that while traveling in Shaanxi, Fujian, Zhejiang and Guizhou, he had collected rubbings of inscriptions and compiled notes about them for a period of forty years. There are no illustrations of the objects in which the inscriptions appear. Wu includes a detailed record of the size and decoration of the pieces from his own collection. In presenting rubbings of inscriptions from twenty-one other collections, Wu Rongguang provides the names of the owners and some annotation.

¹⁷ In his preface to *Zhou jinwen zun*, dated 1916, Zou An speaks of having been fond of ancient inscriptions for the nearly thirty years during which he assembled some two thousand rubbings from different collections. Zou An does not include any rubbings that appeared after 1911. *Zhou jinwen zun* presents 1,545 rubbings of bronze inscriptions, arranged according to vessel type, the number of characters in the inscriptions, and with references to the collections from which they came. Some of the vessels are represented as composite rubbings, others are hand-drawn copies together with old colophons and with new comments added. Dashou affixed a variety of different seals on his rubbings included in *Zhou jinwen zun*.

¹⁸ Xu Kang, *Qianchen meng yin lu*, xia 21, *Meishu congshu*, Yiwen yinshuguan edition, vol. 1, pp. 234–35. Quoted by Rong Geng, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao*, 1:180.

Dashou is described in texts as being an expert in making impressive composite rubbings of ancient bronze vessels. According to one account, it was the antiquarian Wu Tingkan, who, in 1836, told Dashou how impressed Cheng Hongpu, another well-known collector, had been with his composite rubbings. Wu Tingkan quotes Cheng Hongpu as having described those rubbings as setting a new standard for epigraphers. Moreover, Cheng was eager to meet Dashou and to have him visit his home in Xin'an, Anhui province. In Wu Tingkan's words, Cheng Hongpu's collection included "not less than one thousand ritual vessels of the Sandai periods," a factor that persuaded Dashou to accept Cheng Hongpu's invitation.

Dashou wrote a long inscription on the left portion of a portrait of Cheng Hongpu, painted when the collector was forty years old (fig. 7).¹⁹ Dashou also wrote the seven large characters in the upper left and added the date corresponding to January 20, 1844. An inscription by Zhao Zhiqian (1829–84), written on the lower mounting, is dated in correspondence with November 14, 1872. Zhao Zhiqian also wrote a long inscription for another portrait of Cheng Hongpu, painted on the occasion of his forty-second birthday (fig. 8).²⁰ Dominating that inscription are two columns of characters considerably larger than the rest, which include the studio names of three famous Qing dynasty art collectors: Liu Xihai's (ca. 1793–1853) Jiayinyi, Wu Rongguang's Yunqingguan, and Ye Zhishen's Ping'anguan. Noting that the collections of Liu Xihai, Wu Rongguang, and Ye Zhishen have been partially destroyed or completely dispersed, Zhao Zhiqian goes on to say that in Xin'an, "metal and stone" antiquities have been assembled in Cheng Hongpu's studio, Tongguzhai.²¹ With the balanced tidiness characteristic of Chinese encomia, Zhao Zhiqian links Cheng Hongpu with Liu Xihai, Wu Rongguang, and Ye Zhishen, concluding that they were the four great collectors in the years following the Qianlong period.

In the later portrait, Cheng Hongpu is seated behind a large, irregularly-shaped stone, on top of which are arranged a bronze sword, *jue*, *ding*, and a *you*. The *you*, which is partially cut off by the right edge of the composition, is set on a low stand formed by a rectangular ceramic tile. The four bronzes are excellent examples of composite bronze rubbings of the type associated with Dashou.

On one occasion Cheng Hongpu and Dashou traveled together to scenic Mount Huang in Anhui, a journey mentioned by many later commentators for, in the course of the trip, Dashou demonstrated his formidable ability to decipher ancient inscriptions. The object that prompted so much comment was a Western Han period bronze lamp in the shape of goose-leg (*yazudeng*) owned by Cheng Hongpu (fig. 9).²² The long inscription on the bottom of the circular portion of the lamp had defied the efforts of

¹⁹ *Shina Nanga Taisei*, vol. 7 (Tôkyô: Kobunsha, 1936), p. 201.

²⁰ *Shina Nanga Taisei*, vol. 7, p. 210.

²¹ Although Cheng Hongpu did not publish a catalogue of his bronzes, a list of fifty-four pieces from his collection appears in *Muan cangqi mu*. Wu Shifen (1791–1856) includes rubbings of the inscriptions on most of Cheng's bronzes in his *Jungulu jin wen* (1895).

²² Recorded in John C. Ferguson, *Lidai zhulu jijin mu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1938), pp. 1118–19. The bronze lamp is illustrated in *Sekai bijutsu zenshû*, vol. 13, *Chûgoku 2, Qin Han*, (Tôkyô: Kadogawa shoden, 1962), pl. 107.

distinguished antiquarians such as Li Er (1692–1752) and Weng Fanggang (1733–1818). After studying those few characters partially visible on the bronze lamp, Dashou used a sharp pointed instrument to remove surface accretions and reveal the rest of the inscription, which was dated to the first year of the Jingning period (33 B.C.). According to the inscription the lamp was made for use in the palace and was number twenty-five in a series. Dashou made rubbings of the lamp and the inscription to which he affixed his seal. Cheng Hongpu added a second seal, made especially for the occasion, with a long inscription that includes his name, place of residence, and the title of the bronze lamp inscription. A number of contemporary scholars, including Li Er, wrote words in praise of Dashou's achievement.

In an even more unusual tour de force, Dashou made composite rubbings of two different views of the bronze lamp – showing the lamp from above and from below – in a single composition, and then added whimsical portraits of himself examining the inscription and actually making the rubbings (fig. 10). His ingenuity in producing such an unusual image prompted encomia from many contemporaries.²³

Dashou's surprisingly garrulous chronicle of his life entitled, *Baoshoushi jinshi shuhua biannianlu*, is devoted mainly to a year-by-year account of his casual religious career, his extensive travels throughout southeastern China, and his considerable success in obtaining rubbings of important ancient bronze and stone inscriptions, as well as of those on Buddhist images. Dashou was equally interested in collecting original examples of calligraphy and painting.

In contrast to Dashou's light, cicada-wing rubbings are the dark, lustrous rubbings favored by the noted Shandong collector-connoisseur Chen Jieqi (1813–84). Chen applied several layers of increasingly opaque ink to achieve rubbings described alternatively as *wujintuo*, "black gold," and as *zhongmo ruo hei qi*, resembling "black lacquer".²⁴ While many of Chen Jieqi's rubbings appear in *Fuzhai jijin lu*,²⁵ his rubbing of the 499-character inscription in the Maogong *ding*, a vessel he acquired in 1852 for 1000 taels of silver, is justly regarded as an outstanding example of his skill. Using separate sheets of paper, he was able to render all the characters clearly and precisely,

²³ The double rubbing is reproduced in *Shenzhou daguan* 6 (August 1914), pl. 4. Other portraits of Dashou have survived. A standing portrait painted by Fei Danxu (1802–50), executed early in 1850, forms a frontispiece of *Tang Huaisu Caoshu Qianziwen*, vol. 104 in *Shōseki mehin sōkan* (Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1975). Dashou was so pleased to obtain Huaisu's calligraphy that he called his studio the Baosu'an. Another portrait of Dashou – in this instance bowing to a pair of Huaisu's scrolls in his collection – is incorporated into the colophons attached to the *Qianziwen* handscroll.

²⁴ Chen Jieqi insisted on using a specially made *xuan* paper when making rubbings. He also used wadded cotton pads to rub the surface of the paper rather than following the more common technique of striking the paper, since he believed the latter method would damage the bronze inscription. Chen Jieqi's views on rubbings are conveniently available in *Chuangu bielu*.

²⁵ *Fuzhai jijin lu* presents 390 rubbings of bronze inscriptions from the large collection assembled by Chen Jieqi. Many of the rubbings had been presented to friends such as Wu Shifen (1796–1856) and Wang Yirong (1845–1900). Some of the terse inscriptions written alongside the rubbings are by Chen Jieqi, others were added by Zou An, a man whose abilities as a connoisseur of Chinese bronzes have been described in condescending terms by Chinese scholars. There are no research notes or transcriptions of the inscriptions. Most of the rubbings of inscriptions on bronzes in Chen Jieqi's collection that were made in Beijing are believed to be the work of Chen Jun. Those rubbings made in Wei Xian, Shandong, on the other hand, are said to have been produced mainly by Li Yigong and his nephew Li Zigeng. Still other rubbing specialists mentioned as having worked with bronzes in Chen Jieqi's collection include Xu Jiquan, Tian Yupiao, Wang Xiquan, He Kunyu, and He Yuanyu.

avoiding any interruptions that might have been caused by creases in the paper when placed on the curved bronze surface (figs. 11–12).²⁶

The achievements of Ma Qifeng and Dashou in making composite bronzes were continued by Li Jinhong and by Zhou Xiding (also known as Zhou Kangyuan). Li Jinhong's rubbings were praised by Wu Shifen, Liu Xihai, Wu Yun and Wu Ronggong (fig. 13).²⁷ Although Zhou Kangyuan's technique was regarded as less outstanding than that of Chen Jieqi, Zhou prepared the rubbings for Chen Chengqiu's (1849–1935) *Chengqiuguan jijin tu* (fig. 14).²⁸ The rubbings in *Chengqiuguan jijin tu*, in turn, are judged to be finer than those in *Mengposhi huogu congbian* (fig. 15), a compendium in which every entry includes a composite rubbing.²⁹ The various portions of the composite bronze rubbings illustrated in *Mengposhi huogu congbian* are not always precisely registered; they are uniformly dark in tonality with no attempt to indicate formal niceties. Decorative elements are awkwardly placed and smaller details – such as knobs or bosses – are crudely simplified. The achievements of people like Dashou are particularly apparent when their work is contrasted with these rubbings.

Chinese artists, who frequently were collectors themselves, soon incorporated rubbings into their compositions to obtain a striking combination of the dark rubbings and richly applied colors. As early as 1814, Tu Zhuo added chrysanthemums to a rubbing by Dashou (fig. 5). One of the most impressive examples of this new genre is a painting by Wu Changsuo (1844–1927) titled *Dingsheng tu* in the Zhejiang Provincial Museum (fig. 16).³⁰ Some traces of the outlines used to prepare the composite rubbings

²⁶ Beijing tushuguan jinshizu, *Beijing tushuguan cang qingtongqi mingwen tuoben xuanbian* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), pl. 72, text p. 26, lists Chen Jieqi's seals affixed to rubbing, as well as the inscription by Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940). For a concise discussion of the questions relating to Chen Jieqi's ownership of the Maogong ding and his rubbings of the vessel, see Zhang Guangyuan, "Xi Zhou zhongqi Maogong ding," *The National Palace Museum Quarterly* VII, no. 2 (1973), pp. 1–69; an English translation of Zhang's article, "The Mao Kung Ting: A Major Bronze Vessel of the Western Chou Period, A Rebuttal of Dr. Noel Barnard's Theories," appears in *Monumenta Serica XXXI* (1974–75), pp. 446–74.

²⁷ The Yangong yi is in The National Palace Museum, Taiwan. See *Gugong tongqi tulu* (Taipei: 1958), vol. 2, 429.

²⁸ The Bo zun is in the Freer Gallery of Art. See John A. Pope, et al., *The Freer Chinese Bronzes* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1967), p. 607, pl. 74.

Chengqiuguan jijin tu, published in 1931, was one of the last Chinese bronze catalogues to be illustrated with composite rubbings. As photography replaced earlier reproduction traditions, the lithographic technique of printing also became less common. The composite rubbings of the eighty-five bronzes included in *Chengqiuguan jijin tu* are printed at slightly reduced scale.

²⁹ The rubbings of the 259 bronzes included in *Mengposhi huogu congbian* were assembled by Zhou Qingyun (1864–1933); the work was not published until 1925. The use of photography in printing *Mengposhi huogu congbian* represents a further development in technical innovations that begin in China with Zou An's (1864–1940) *Shuangwangxizhai jinshi tulu* (1916), which was the first bronze catalogue to be printed by means of a photographic process. Zou An wrote many of the comments in *Mengposhi huogu congbian*.

A small number of fine bronzes is included with an unusually large group of spurious pieces in *Mengposhi huogu congbian*. Rong Geng's terse condemnation of the compilation – he believed more than half were forgeries – is devastating: "The usefulness of this work is not to seek the authentic but to preserve the spurious. Those who want to know about the circumstances of forged vessels can seek them here." See *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao*, vol. 1, p. 265.

³⁰ Ink and color on paper. 180.1 cm x 96.0 cm. Illustrated in *Zhejiang jindai shuhua xuanji* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin meishu chubanshe, 1990), pl. 18. There are many examples of this type of composition. For instance, see a painting of chrysanthemums combined with a bronze jue by Zhao Zhiqian (1829–84) in *Shina Nanga Taikan* (Tōkyō, 1926), no. 9; a composition by Ren Yi (1840–96) dated 1882 in *Sekai bijutsu zenshū, Chūgoku* (6) *Min Shin* (Tōkyō: Kadogawa shoden, 1966), color pl. 21; and another composition by the same artist dated 1885 in *Ren Bonian* (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1988), pl. 88.

of the two *ding* are visible on the painting. While Wu Changsuo does not elaborate on the history of the two bronzes in his composition, they are among the most famous vessels discussed in late nineteenth-century Chinese texts.

The bronze in the upper right section of the painting is referred to by Chinese antiquarians as the Jiaoshan *ding*, as the Wuzhuan *ding*, or as the "Silver Island *ding*." That bronze vessel captured the interest of most Chinese collector-connoisseurs during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and a number of studies explicating the ninety-four-character inscription cast inside the *ding* were published, beginning with Zhu Yizun's (1629–1709) "Zhou ding ming ba," included in *Bushuting ji*, 46. While there are some minor differences in interpretation, the basic content of the bronze inscription is clear: an official named Wuzhuan was summoned for a court ceremony during the reign of Xuanwang (ninth-eighth century B. C.). In recognition for his efforts during a military campaign in western China, Wuzhuang received several gifts, including a bronze *ge* (dagger axe) and a banner from the ruler. Wuzhuan then had the tripod cast in the hope that "his sons and grandsons would eternally treasure and use it".

There are some variations in accounts of the history of the Wuzhuan *ding*. According to the Buddhist monk Xingzai preserved in the gazetteer *Jiaoshan zhi*, during the Ming dynasty the bronze was owned by a Mr. Wei. When the corrupt prime minister Yan Song (1480–1569) heard about the *ding*, he determined to obtain it by force if necessary. Although Wei managed to outwit Yan Song, he was fearful that his descendants would not be able to retain possession of the ritual bronze in the face of similar threats, and so he presented the Wuzhuan *ding* to the Buddhist temple on the island of Jiaoshan, located in the Yangzi River near Jinjiang.³¹ Several distinguished Qing dynasty collectors travelled to Jiaoshan specifically to see the Wuzhuan *ding*. Ruan Yuan viewed the famous bronze in autumn of 1804 and Feng Yunpeng studied it in winter of 1813; Chen Jieqi also made a pilgrimage to the Buddhist temple in the Yangzi River.

The second bronze included in Wu Changzuo's composition, the Sui Qi Qi *ding*, has the distinction of bearing what has been described as the most famous spurious inscription made during the late Qing dynasty. The bronze is associated with Ye Zhishen (1779–1856), a man who assembled a large collection of bronzes and rubbings of bronze inscriptions. Sad to say, Chinese critics are unanimous in describing that collection as being the greatest assemblage of forgeries in the nineteenth century. Rong Geng tartly summed up his opinion of Ye Zhishen as follows, "To accept spurious bronzes for genuine is like being blind. That is Ye Zhishen."³²

³¹ A variation of this account, based on comments by Wang Shilu (1626-73), is presented by Rong Geng in his *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* I:p. 298. In that version of the story, Yan Song was successful in his efforts to obtain the Wuzhuan *ding*, but, on his death in 1596, the bronze was returned to the Jiangnan area and finally was presented to the Buddhist temple at Jiaoshan. The name of the Buddhist temple also varies in these accounts: Haiyuntang and Dinghuisi sometimes replace the more general designation of Jiaoshansi.

Since the Wuzhuan *ding* already was a celebrated bronze during the sixteenth century, it obviously had been unearthed sometime prior to that date, although no specific details are available. A comprehensive reference to studies of the inscription is provided by Shirakawa Shizuka, *Kinbun tsushaku*, 26.153.348-56.

³² Rong Geng, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao*, I:pp. 212-23.

The notorious Sui Qi Qi *ding* is said to have been unearthed at Rongtangcun in Qishan, Shaanxi province, in the spring of 1842. A few rubbings of the original, genuine inscription cast inside the bronze were made shortly after it was discovered (fig. 17). Those rubbings reveal only six characters, including the Sui Qi Qi cited in references to the bronze. It is important to stress that the bronze and the six-character inscription are genuine. Then, two of the most celebrated Shaanxi forgers – Su Zhaonian (also known as Su Qi) and Zhang Fengyan (also known as Zhang Erming) – gained possession of the bronze. The two forgers cunningly expanded the authentic nine-character inscription by adding 120 characters to produce what may have been their masterpiece (fig. 18).³³ In an effort to avoid detection, Su and Zhang drew upon the inscriptions in other ancient bronzes, the Guo Jizi Bai *pan* and the Bo Ji *ding*.³⁴ In 1844 Su and Zhang sold the bronze *ding* with the altered inscription to Ye Zhishen for three hundred taels of silver.

Believing that the Sui Qi Qi *ding* dated to the reign of Xuanwang of the Zhou dynasty, Ye Zhishen showed his valued new acquisition to his friends and colleagues. Thirty-nine scholars participated in deciphering the inscription; they also wrote poems to record the auspicious event. Ye Zhishen assembled all of their writings in a volume entitled *Zhou Sui ding tu ti yong* (figs. 19–20). At about the time the volume was published, colleagues showed Ye Zhishen rubbings of the original nine-character inscription. When Ye Zhishen realized that the major portion of the inscription in his newly-acquired bronzes was spurious, he was so unhappy and embarrassed that he presented the *ding* to the same temple on Jiaoshan that housed the Wuzhuan *ding*.

As already noted, the combination of composite rubbings and painted flowers in a single composition constituted a new genre in Chinese art and, on the basis of the information currently available, it appears as though the Buddhist monk Dashou,

³³ Rubbings of the original two-column, nine-character inscription appear in *Jungulu jinwen* 1-zhi-i, 32; and *Kezhai jigulu* 6:13. A rubbing of the altered/enlarged inscription appears only in *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi*, shang 32 – a bronze catalogue that is noted for the number of forged inscriptions included in its pages. It is noteworthy that Ye Zhishen wrote a preface for *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi*.

³⁴ Drawing on the comments of Bao Kang and Shang Chengzuo, Rong Geng discusses the Sui Qi Qi *ding* inscription at length in *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* (1:209–11) and, with Zhang Weichi, in *Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* (p. 135). Bao Kang saw the bronze *ding* shortly after it was unearthed and before one of the damaged legs had been repaired. At the same time Bao Kang obtained a rubbing of the original six-character inscription.

The Boji *ding*, sometimes referred to as the Yuan(?) *ding*, with a one-hundred character inscription, is discussed by Xue Shangong in his *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi fatie*, juan 10:9a–10a.

The Guo Jizi Bai *pan* was unearthed at Guochuanzi, near Baoji, in Shaanxi province during the Daoguang period (1821–50) and acquired by the official in charge of the area, who then sent it to his home in Changzhoucheng, Jiangsu province. In 1864 the official, Liu Mingquan (1836–96), was in Changzhoucheng where he was awakened one night by the sound of metal striking against metal. When Liu investigated, he found the noise was caused by the metal ornaments on a horse's bridle hitting the edge of a metal feeding trough as the animal was eating. After examining the trough, Liu realized it was an ancient bronze vessel and had it shipped to his home in Anhui province, where he eventually had a pavilion, the Panting, built to house it. During the Sino-Japanese War, Liu Mingquan's descendants buried the bronze to prevent its seizure by Japanese troops. Finally, after the People's Republic was established, a fourth-generational descendant, Liu Suzeng, presented the Guo Jizi Bai *pan* to the nation and it is now housed in the Museum of History, Beijing. For one version of the history of the Guo Jizi Bai *pan*, see Cheng Rufeng, "Liu Mingquan yu Guo Jizi Bai *pan*," *Wenwu tiandi*, 1987.5, 33–35.

Shang Chengzuo marvelled that someone like Ye Zhishen, who had a large collection of bronzes and must have studied them, together with rubbings of bronzes in other collections, did not recognize the passages taken from two other well-known bronzes. It was Bao Kang and Liu Xihai (1793–1852?), both of whom had rubbings of the original nine-character inscription, who told Ye Zhishen about the spurious additions.

together with people like Tu Zhuo, played a crucial role in that innovation. Just as Dashou wittily combined drawings of himself with his rubbings of the Han dynasty bronze lamp in the collection of Cheng Hongpo, he participated in the introduction of seasonal blossoms into paintings that also include bronze rubbings. In those compositions, the ancient ritual vessels – presented as composite rubbings – are treated as flower containers. A comment in the biography of Dashou in *Shulin jishi*, a text compiled by Ma Zonghuo (born 1898) and published in 1935, provides the relevant information: “He once made rubbings of twenty-four kinds of ancient bronze vessels. Like-minded antiquarians each arranged – i.e. painted – a branch of floral blossoms in one of the rubbings, which were then mounted as a large handscroll of matchless classical elegance. Those who saw the handscroll marvelled that it achieved something that had never existed.”³⁵

With the development of photography during the nineteenth century, Chinese collectors took advantage of the new Western medium when publishing their catalogues. In spite of their seeming precision, however, photographs still did not transmit the nuances of inscriptions or the fine intaglio decorative motifs with the same uniform fidelity as did rubbings. Consequently rubbings continue to be an integral element of bronze catalogues, complementing the photographic images. That blending of old and new, so typical of China’s response to Western innovations, becomes clearly apparent when comparing a photograph of a bronze *gui* with a recent composite rubbing (figs. 21–22). Both images provide complementary rather than redundant information about the shape, proportions, and decoration, but for clarity of individual details the rubbing still offers an understanding of the bronze that is lacking in the photograph. At the same time, it is apparent that some of the characteristics of photography – for example, dramatic light and shade – have influenced the rubbing made by a modern Chinese specialist. That change can be seen when a composite rubbing of a *gui* made in the late nineteenth century (fig. 3) is compared with the one dating approximately one hundred years later (fig. 22).

In their search for precise replicas of inscriptions on ancient bronze ritual vessels, Chinese antiquarians explored a variety of techniques. According to textual accounts, the rubbing technique, originally used in China for centuries to copy inscriptions on stone and wood, was first adopted for preserving bronze inscriptions during the Northern Song period. It was many centuries later, however, before Qing dynasty specialists developed the rubbing technique to its full potential and, as they did so, the rubbings also attained the status of collectible objects. Equally innovative was the use by artists of composite rubbings as compositional motifs – compositions that included colorful flowers, calligraphy, and, occasionally, portraits of the bronze collectors themselves. The ingenuity of Chinese artists in creating a totally new genre with bronze rubbings playing a significant role is yet another instance of the enviable vitality of China’s millennia-old culture.

³⁵ *Shulin jishi* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), *juan* 3, 120a. In *Baosushi jinshi shuhua biannianlu, xia*, 3a, there is reference to Dashou using twenty-four pieces of paper with rubbings of *Sandai* ritual vessels to make a large screen (*daping*) for Cheng Hongpu. There is no mention of the addition of any painted flowers.

Chinese Characters

Chinese Characters

baimiao 白描
Baisui tu 百歲圖
Bao Kang 鮑康
Baoji 寶鷄
Baosu'an 寶素庵
Bige 祕閣
Bo Ji ding 伯姬鼎
Bo zun 伯尊
Changzhoucheng 常州城
Chen Chengqiu 陳承裘
Chen Jieqi 陳介祺
Chen Jun 陳峻
Cheng Hongpu 程洪溥
danmo ruo chanyi 淡墨若蟬翼
Daoguang 道光
daping 大屏
Dashou 達受
Dinghuisi 定慧寺
Dingsheng tu 鼎盛圖
dou 斛
Fei Danxu 費丹旭
Feng Yunpeng 馮雲鵬
Fuxin 父辛
ge 戈
gui 簋
Guo Jizi Bai pan 號季子白盤
Guochuanzi 號川司
Haining 海寧
Haiyuntang 海雲堂
Han xi 漢洗

He Kunyu 何昆玉
He Yuanxi 何元錫
He Yuanyu 何璵玉
Huangshan (Mount Huang) 黃山
huoquan huoquan 貨泉貨泉
jiaguwen 甲骨文
Jianchu 建初
Jiaoshan ding 焦山鼎
Jiaoshan zhi 焦山志
Jiaoshansi 焦山寺
Jiaqing 嘉慶
Jiayinyi 嘉蔭移
Jingning 竟寧
Jinjiang 鎮江
jinshe seng 金石僧
jue 爵
Li Er 厲鶚
Li Gonglin 李公麟
Li Jinhong 李錦鴻
Li Yigong 李貽功
Li Zigeng 李澤庚
Liu Mingquan 劉銘傳
Liu Suzeng 劉肅曾
Liu Xihai 劉喜海
Liuzhou 六舟
Lu Yi 陸頤
Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉
Ma Qifeng 馬起鳳
Maogong ding 毛公鼎
mu Fuding 木父丁

Panting 盤亭
 Ping'anguan 平安館
 Qian Dian 錢站
 Qianlong 乾隆
 Qin Enfu 秦恩復
 Qishan 岐山
quanxing tuoben 全形拓本
 Ren Yi 任頤
 Renzong 仁宗
 Rong Geng 容庚
 Rongtangcun 榮湯村
 Ruan Yuan 阮元
 Sandai 三代
 shang 上
 Shang Chengzuo 商承祚
Shang sanjue tu 商三爵圖
shou 壽
shuangyu xi 雙魚洗
 Su Qi 蘇七
 Su Zhaonian 蘇兆年
 Sui Qi Qi ding 遂啓祺鼎
 Sun Xingyan 孫星衍
taben 搨本
 Taichang 太常
 Tian Yupiao 田雨飄
 Tongguzhai 銅鼓齋
 Tu Zhuo 屠倬
tuoben 拓本
 Wang Chuan 王闢
 Wang Shilu 王士祿
 Wang Xiquan 王西泉
 Wang Yirong 王懿榮
 Wei (surname) 魏
 Wei Xian 淮縣
 Weng Fanggang 翁方綱
 Weng Shupeì 翁樹培

Wu Changsuo 吳昌碩
 Wu Rongguang 吳榮光
 Wu Shifen 吳式芬
 Wu Tingkan 吳廷康
 Wu Tingyang 吳廷璣
wujintuo 烏金拓
 Wuzhuan ding 無專鼎
 Xiang Yuanbian 項元汴
 Xin'an 新安
 Xingzai 行載
 Xu Jiquan 胥芑泉
xuan 宣
 Xuanwang 宣王
 Yan Song 嚴嵩
yang 羊
 Yangong yi 陽公匱
 Yao (surname) 姚
yazudeng 鴈足鐙
 Ye Zhishen 葉志詵
yihouwang 宜侯王
you 卣
 Yuan (?) ding 袁鼎
 Yunqingguan 筠清館
 Zhang Erming 張二銘
 Zhang Fengyan 張鳳眼
 Zhang Tingji 張廷濟
 Zhao Zhiqian 趙之謙
zhongmo ruo heiqi 重墨若黑漆
 Zhou Kangyuan 周康元
 Zhou Xiding 周希丁
 Zhu Shanqi 朱善旂
 Zhu Weibi 朱爲弼
 Zhuanyan 傅巖
zi 字
 Zou An 鄒安

Characters for Chinese and Japanese Works

- Bao Changxi 鮑昌熙, *Jinshixie* 金石屑
Beijing tushuguan jinshizu 北京圖書館金石組, *Beijing tushuguan cang qingtongqi mingwen tuoben xuanbian* 北京圖書館藏青銅器銘文拓本選編
Bushuting ji 曝書亭集
Chen Chengqiu 陳承裘, *Chengqiuguan jijin tu* 潑秋館吉金圖
Chen Jieqi 陳介祺, *Chuanggu bielu* 傳古別錄
Chen Jieqi 陳介祺, *Fuzhai jijin lu* 簠齋吉金錄
Cheng Rufeng 程如峰, "Liu Mingquan yu Guo Jizi Bai pan" 劉銘傳與號季子白盤
Dashou 達受, *Baosushi jinshi shuhua bian nianlu* 寶素室金石書畫編年錄
Gugong tongqi tulu 故宮銅器圖錄
Ji Hongzhang 紀宏章, *Chuantuo jifa* 傳拓技法
Li Gonglin 李公麟, *Kaogu tu* 考古圖
Lidai zhulu jijin mu 歷代著錄吉金目
Lü Dalin 呂大臨, *Kaogu tu* 考古圖
Ma Zonghuo 馬宗霍, *Shulin jishi* 書林紀事
Meishu congshu 美術叢書
Muan cangqi mu 木庵藏器目
Ningshou jiangou 寧壽鑑古
Qian Dian 錢坫, *Shiliuchangletang guqi kuanshi kao* 十六長樂堂古器款識考
Qianlu 錢錄
Qingzhu Li Ji xiansheng qishisui lunwen ji, shang 慶祝李濟先生七十歲論文集, 上
Ren Bonian 任伯年
Rong Geng 容庚, *Shang Zhou yiqi tongkao* 商周彝器通考
Rong Geng 容庚 and Zhang Weichi 張維持, *Yin Zhou qingtongqi tonglun* 殷周青銅器通論
Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Jiguzhai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 積古齋鐘鼎款識

Sekai bijutsu zenshū 世界美術全集, *Chūgoku* 中國 2, *Qin Han* 秦漢; 6, *Min* 明 *Shin* 清
Shenzhou daguan 神州大觀
Shina Nanga Taikan 支那南画大觀
Shina Nanga Taisei 支那南画大成
Shirakawa Shizuka 白川靜, *Kinbun tsūshaku* 金文通釋
Shōseki mehin soka 書跡名品叢刊
Tang Huaisu Caoshu Qianziwen 唐懷素草書千字
Wenwu tiandi 文物天地
Wu Dacheng 吳大澂, *Kezhai jigulu* 愷齋集古錄
Wu Rongguang 吳榮光, *Yunqingguan jinwen* 筠清館金文
Wu Shifen 吳式芬, *Jingulu jinwen* 臬古錄金文
Xiqing gujian 西清古鑑
Xiqing xujian, jiabian 西清續鑑甲編
Xiqing xujian, yibian 西清續鑑乙編
Xu Kang 徐康, *Qianchen mengyin lu* 前塵夢影錄
Xue Shangong 薛尚功, *Lidai zhongding yiqi kuanshi* 歷代鐘鼎彝器款識
Zhai Qnian 翟耆年, *Zhoushi* 簠史
Zhang Guangyuan 張光遠, "*Xi Zhou zhongqi Maogong ding*" 西周重器毛公鼎
Zhang Tingji 張廷濟, *Qingyike suocang guqi wuwen* 清儀閣所藏古器物文
Zhejiang jindai shubua xuanji 浙江近代書畫選集
Zhongguo meishujia renming zidian 中國美術家人名釋典
Zhou Qingyun 周慶雲, *Mengposhi huogu congbian* 夢坡室獲古叢編
Zhou Sui ding tu ti yong 周遂鼎圖題詠
Zhu Shanqi 朱善旂, *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi* 敬吾心室彝器款識
Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, "*Zhou ding ming ba*" 周鼎銘跋
Zou An 鄒安, *Shuangwangxizhai jinshi tulu* 雙王璽齋金石圖錄
Zou An 鄒安, *Zhou jinwen zun* 周金文存

Illustrations

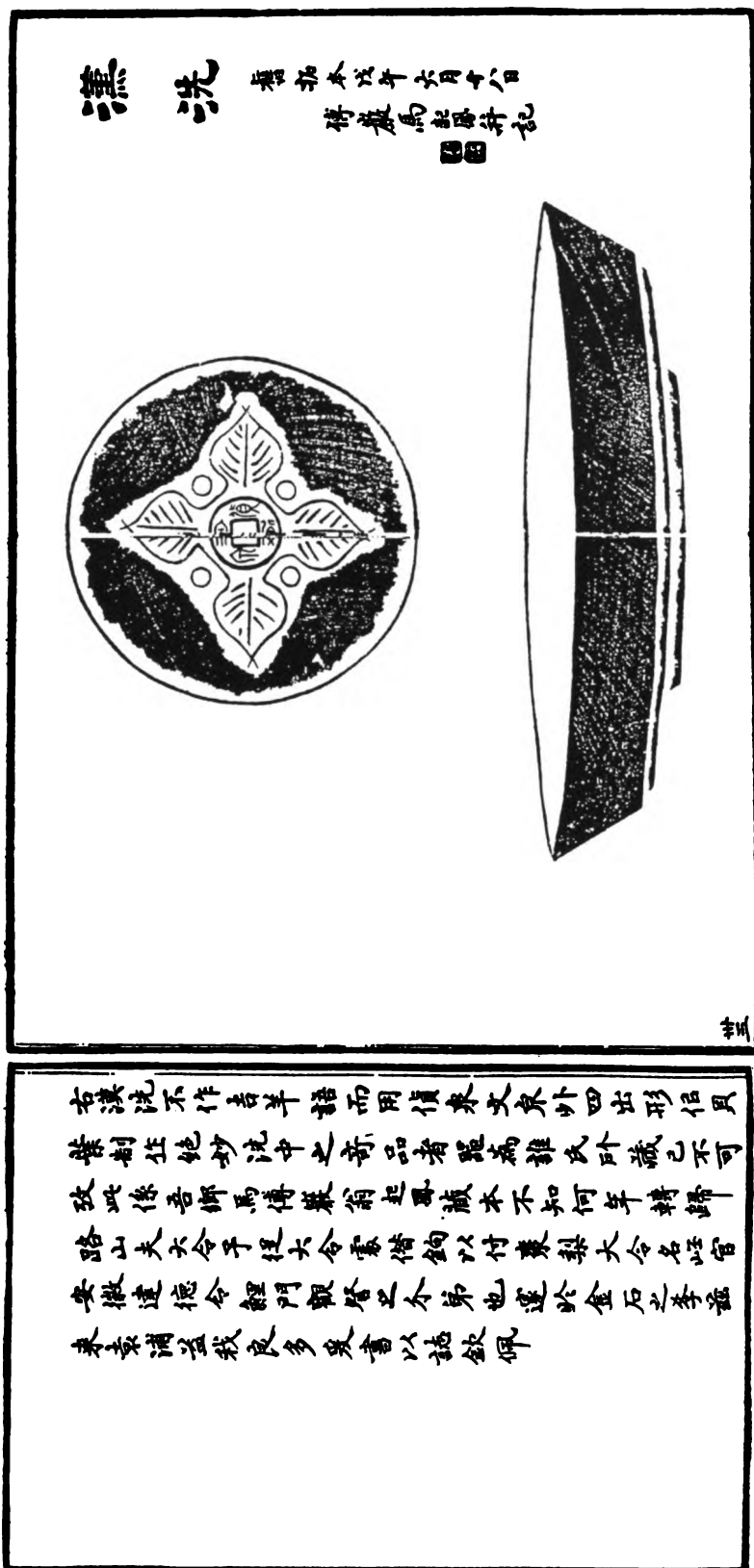


Fig. 1. Composite rubbing by Ma Qifeng. 1798. After *Jinshixie*, 1 ce: 33a-34a.

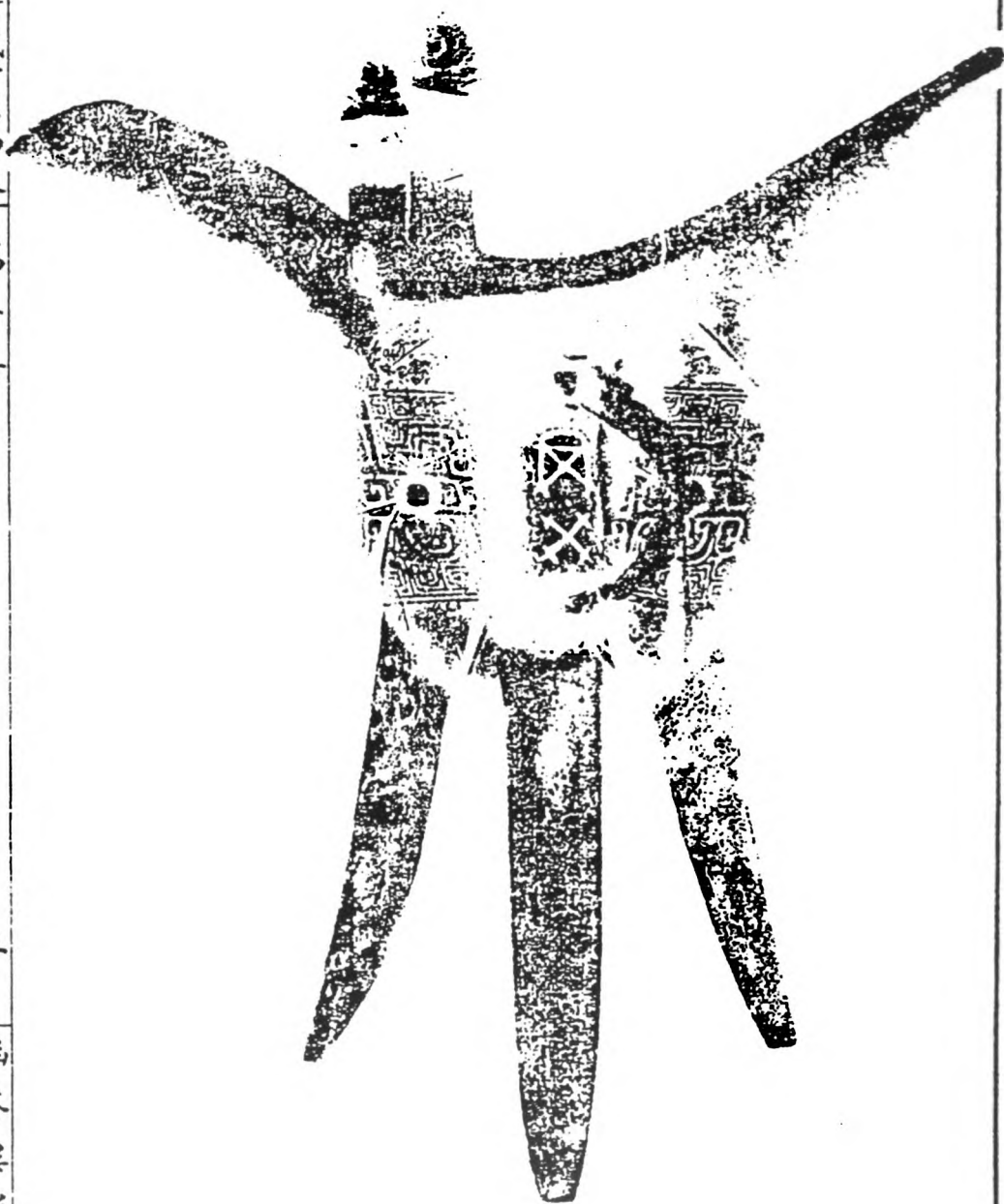


Fig. 2. Composite rubbing. Ca. 1822. After *Qingyike suochang guqi wuwen*, 1:3a.

周仲虎父敦 德義補題

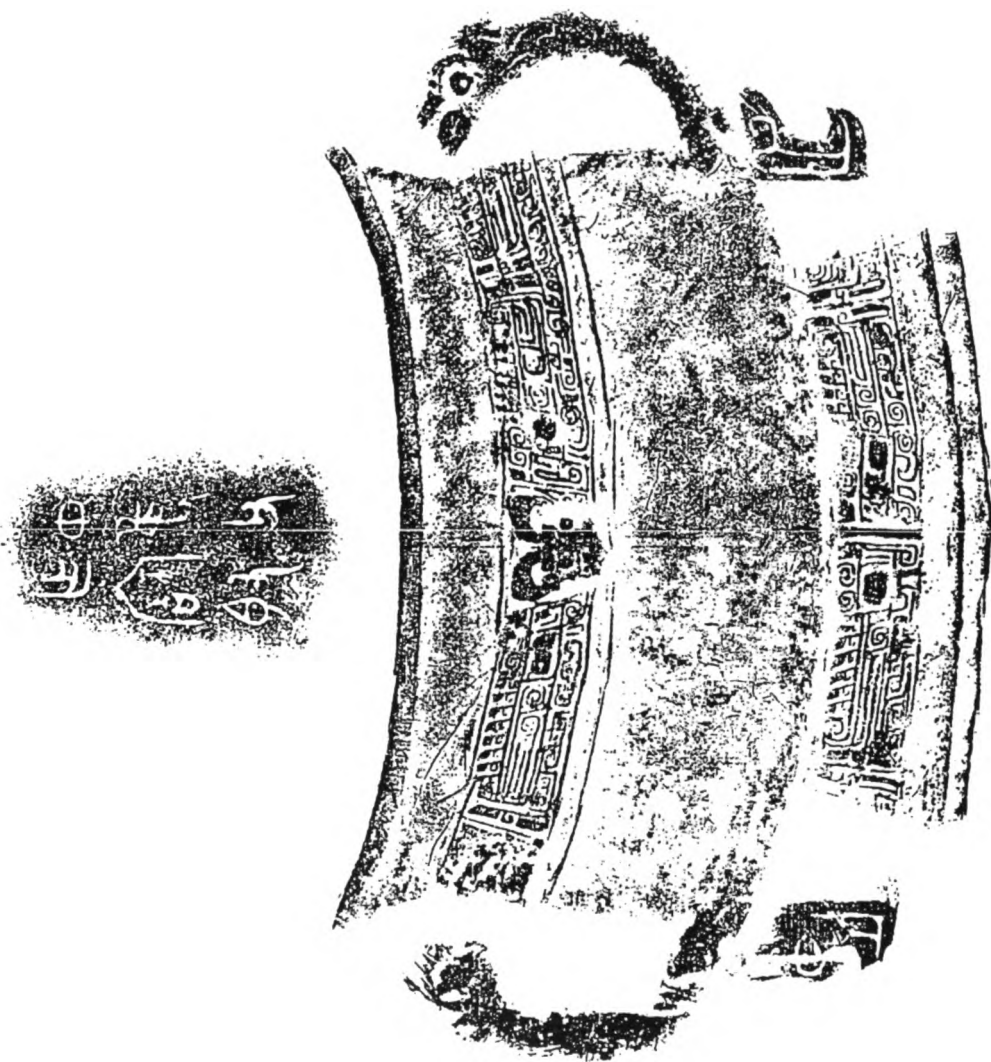


Fig. 3. Composite rubbing. Ca. 1822. After Qingyike suochang guqi wuwen, 1:34b-35b.

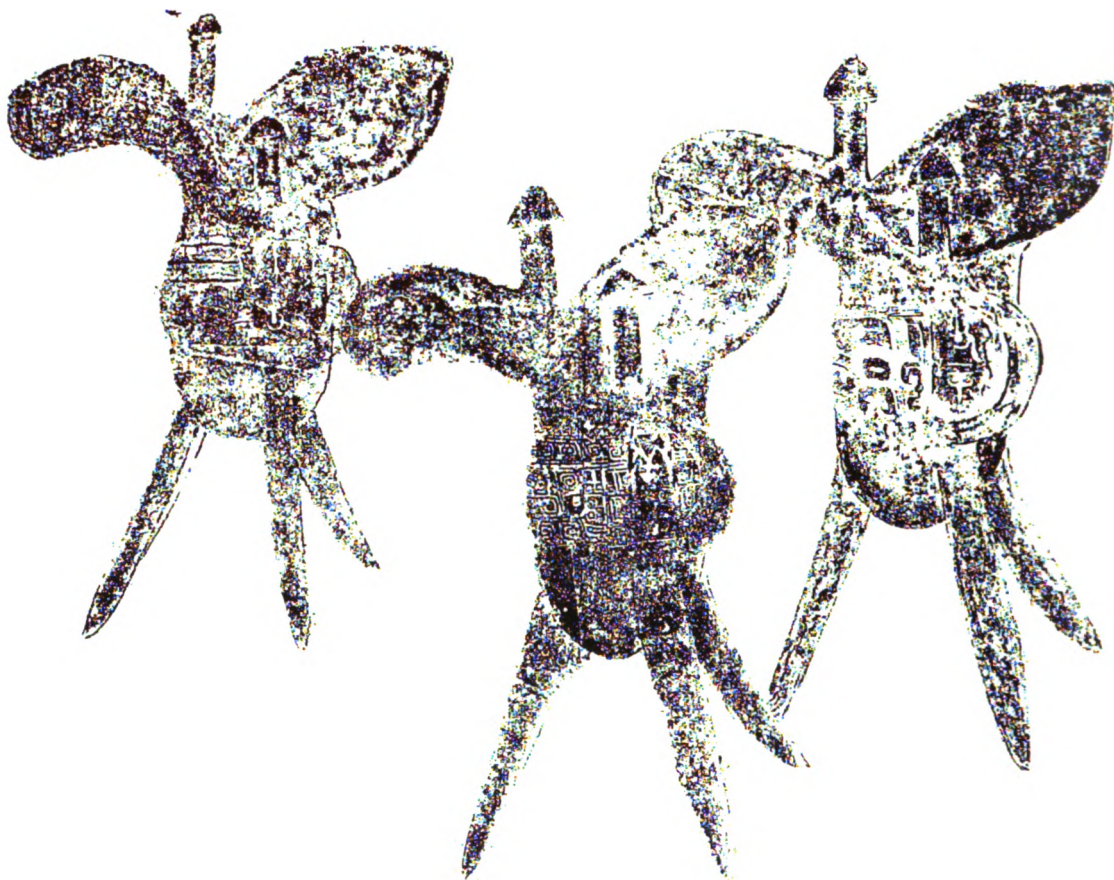
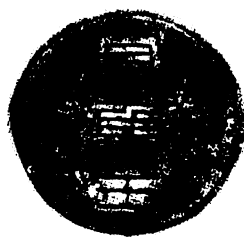


Fig. 4. *Shang sanjue tu*. Three composite rubbings. Before 1849. After *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi*, 2:52a-b.

嘉慶甲戌重九日
 雲石先生墨示出六母
 信所拓漢雙魚銅洗
 小只示予愛玩不置因
 湯筆補菊藉賞佳
 節并請教正
 屠何



光緒丙子五月十日
 劉鴻恩鑒于...
 龍山房

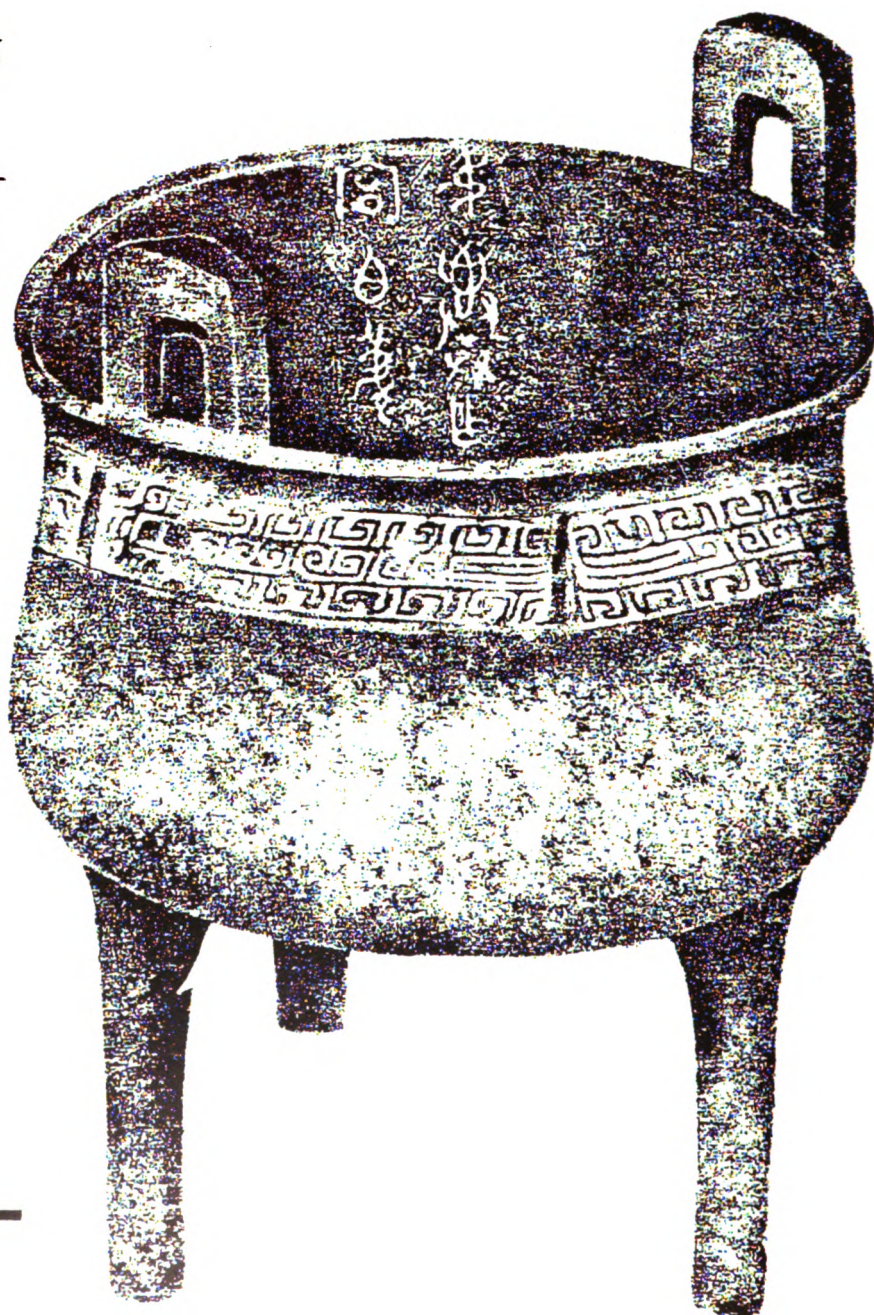
同治壬午歲
 甲子夏月
 小只銅洗
 係此器之
 身之...

Fig. 5. Composite rubbing by Dashou with inscription by Tu Zhou dated 1814. Kyôto National Museum.

周 鼎 簠 簋

是鼎
拓於吳
下飛
皂人手

六升拓并題鄰適盧補記



六十一

Fig. 6. Composite rubbing by Dashou (1791–1858). After *Zhou jinwen zun*, juan 2 xia, 61a.

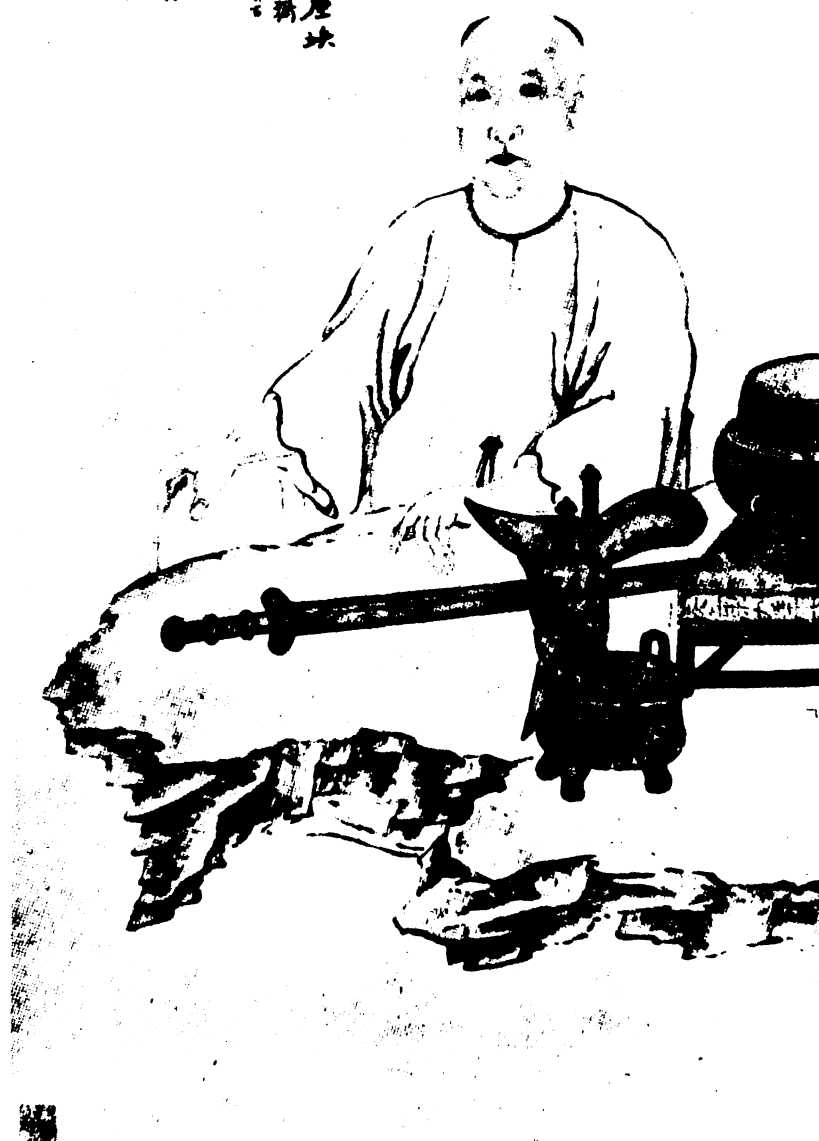
木翦三十歲小像

癸卯嘉平月朔日達受又顯

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 先生之西行 山周伯中
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34

竟寧鴈足鐙



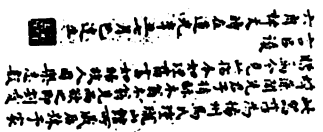
中宮內者第五

受內者

王元帝九年寺工護為內者造銅鴈足鐙重三斤十二兩護武帝夫霸
據廣漢主司必實守令尊護二衣文

省

Fig. 9. Rubbing by Dashou of the inscription on the Han dynasty bronze lamp owned by Cheng Hongpu. After *Kezhai jigu lu*, 26 ce: 24a.



香子致
ちちりち
賢父上義
寺代生十
賢三義政
作良者衣
別通昌日
徳木椿松
有が助吾
徳田水邊
康成上義
上十父分
子下名以
在在堂



Fig. 11. Composite rubbing of the Maogong *ding*. Ca. 1852. After *Beijing tushuguan cang qingtongqi mingwen tuoben xuanbian*, pl. 72.

毛公鼎

清·陳介祺摹寫毛公鼎金文

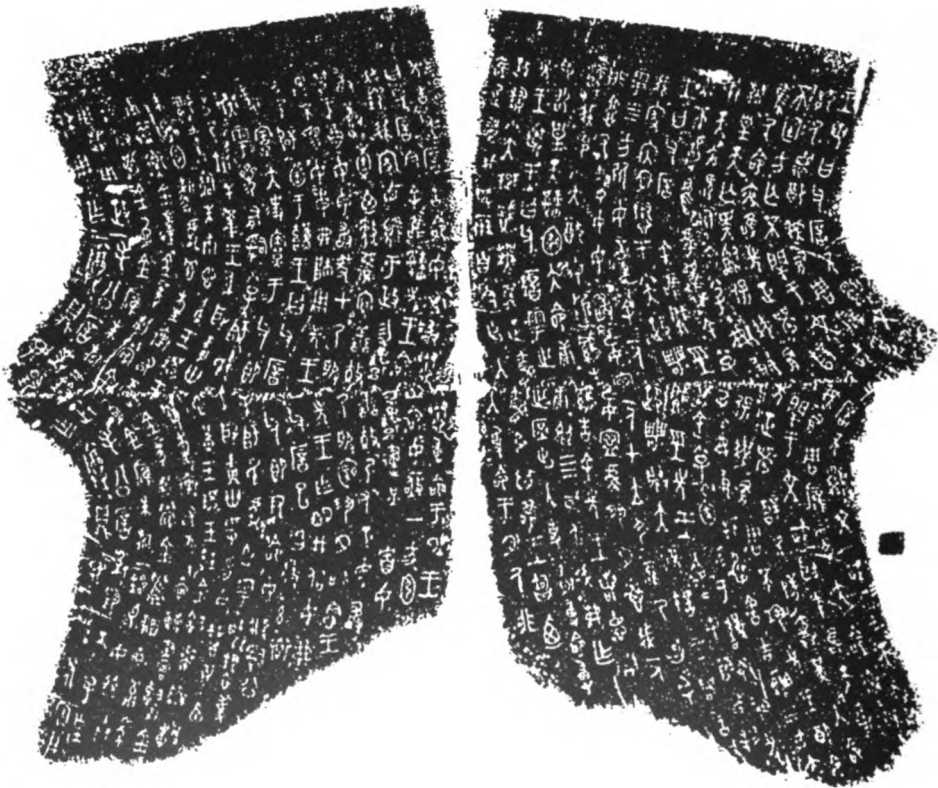


Fig. 12. Rubbing of the Maogong *ding* inscription by Chen Jieqi. Ca. 1852. After *Beijing tushuguan cang qingtongqi mingwen tuoben quanbian*, pl. 72.

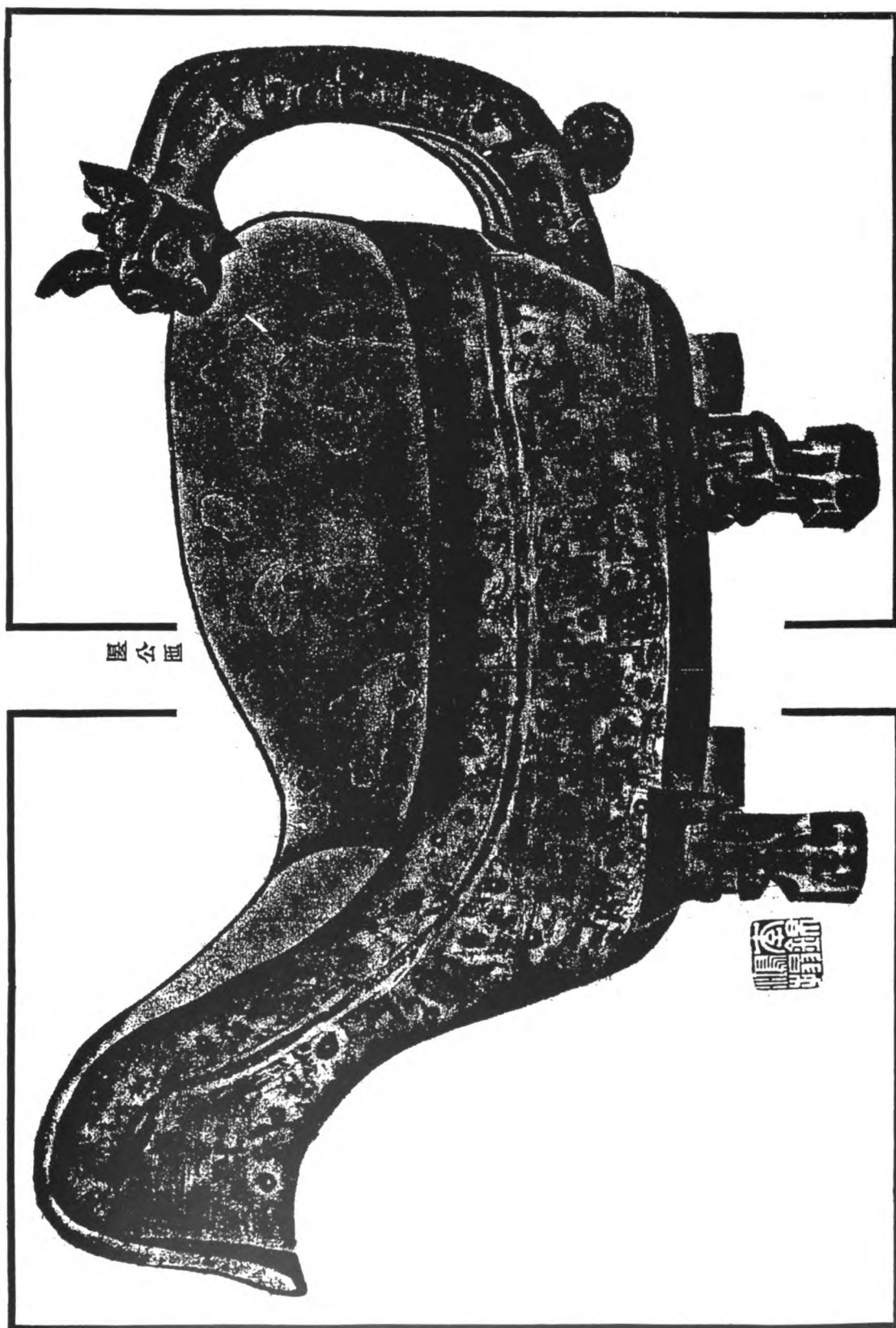


Fig. 13. Composite rubbing by Li Jinhong. After *Zhou Jinwen zun*, 4:29a-b.

白尊



Fig. 14. Composite rubbing by Zhou Kangyuan. After *Chengqiuguan jijin tu*, 27a.



Fig. 15. Composite rubbing from *Mengposhi huogu congpan*, juan 1.

期仲觀察先生所藏十三卷草堂集卷之四
 竹葉時生
 吳昌碩印



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 官國呂不得此鼎將罪出魏氏
 濯送入焦山積古齋釋潘字執
 膳戶祭謂出潘惡棄廣雅釋
 膳肉也膳膳即膳出省父非二
 字三義
 吳昌碩

Fig. 16. *Dingsheng tu* painting by Wu Changsuo. Zhejiang Provincial Museum. After *Zhejiang jindai shuhua xuanji*, pl. 18.



Fig. 17. Rubbing of original six-character inscription in Sui Qi Qi *ding*. After *Kezhai jigulu*, 6:13b.

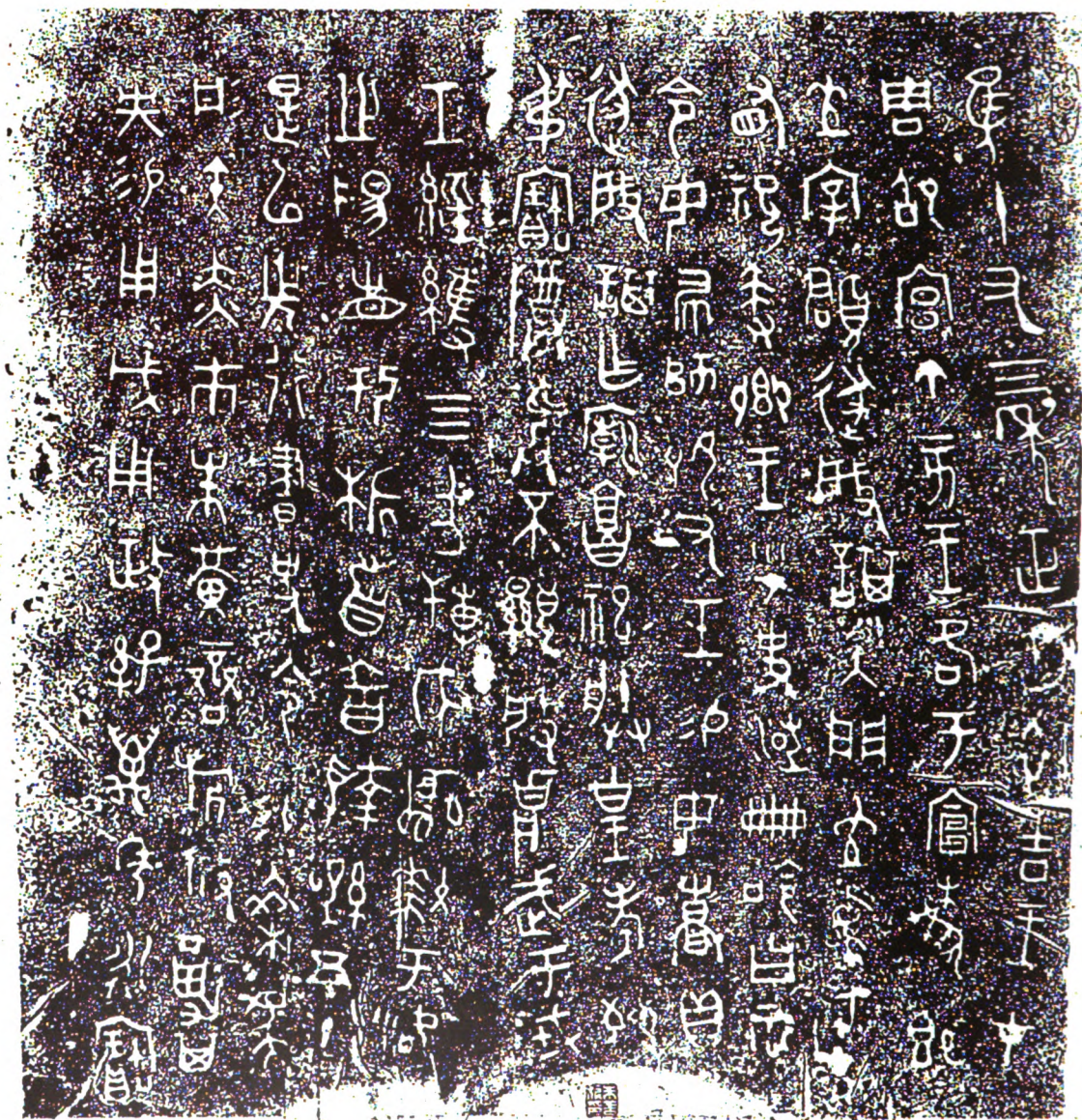


Fig. 18. Rubbing of altered inscription in Sui Qi Qi ding. After *Jingwuxinshi yiqi kuanshi*, shang 32.



Fig. 19. Title page of *Zhou Sui ding tu ti yong*.

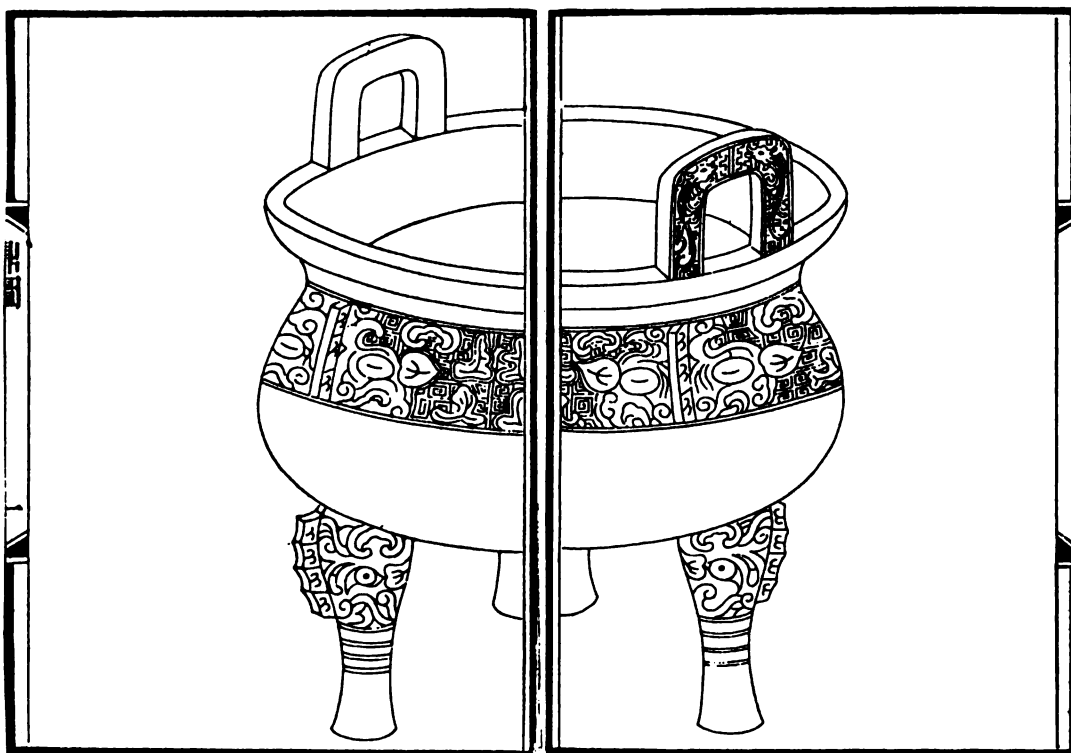


Fig. 20. Line drawing of Sui Qi Qi *ding*. After *Sui ding tu ti yong*.



Fig. 21. Bo *gui*. Palace Museum, Beijing.



Fig. 22. Composite rubbing of Bo *gui*. After *Chuan tuozhi fa*, pl. 16.

The “Fountain” Ewers:
An Explanation for the Motif

by

Linda Rosenfeld Shulsky

Chinese porcelain ewers usually dated to the mid-sixteenth century decorated with a "fountain" motif have long been a subject of mystery and speculation.¹ There is one such ewer in each of the following collections: the Victoria and Albert and British Museums in London, the Bastan Museum in Iran (formerly in the Ardebil shrine), the Musée Guimet in Paris, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Matsuda Museum in Japan. There are ten ewers in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, two in private collections in the United States, (Figs. 1 and 2) and a vase with the same motif in the Percival David Foundation.² All are white with underglaze blue decoration except for one in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul which is painted in overglaze enamels. (#1632) They are usually dated to the Jiajing period (1522–66) because one of the ewers in the Topkapi Museum (#1462) has a Jiajing reign mark on it. The shape of ewer seems to be peculiar to the middle of the sixteenth century. Because this shape is certainly Islamic, and because so many of the pieces are in Middle Eastern collections, it might seem that they could have been made for the Middle Eastern market. There is a Spanish silver ewer of similar shape of around 1500,³ which probably also reflects Islamic influence, as Spain was unified as a Christian country in 1492 and was previously occupied by the Moors. However, there are sixteenth-century bronze Chinese ewers with a similar shape.⁴ This form was possibly based on an Islamic prototype during the Yuan period, and it had by the sixteenth century become a Chinese shape. Therefore, shape alone cannot identify this piece with the Islamic market.

The fact that there are many "fountain" ewers in the Topkapi Museum does not necessarily argue for their having been made for the Middle Eastern market. As Julian Raby and Unsal Yücel state in their introduction to the catalogue of the Topkapi collection, the Ottomans were accumulators rather than collectors.⁵ Their pieces were probably

¹ In an article in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 24 (1952) "The Magic Fountain in Chinese Ceramic Art: An Exercise in Illustrational Interpretation," Percival David discussed the possibility that the fountains were related to the Magic Fountain at Karakorum designed by the Frenchman Guillaume Bouchier in the thirteenth century. However, I feel that the time gap of three centuries and the lack of resemblance between the Bouchier fountain and the fountains on the ewers make this argument untenable.

² Other authors (Regina Krah, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue* Vol. II, London: Sotheby's, 1986. p 654 and 655, John Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*. Washington: Smithsonian, 1956, pp 134–136, n. 282, Percival David, 1952) have listed the ewers and discussed their differences in design and in markings. This paper will not recapitulate these discussions, and space constraints prevent the illustration of all the fountain ewers, which can be found in the cited references. Here I will focus on a possible source for the fountain design and its meaning.

³ Carl Hernmarck, (*The Art of the European Silversmith, 1430 to 1830*, Vol. II, London and New York: Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1977) illustrates the "Sierpe" flagon, Spain or Portugal, c. 1500, in the Cathedral Treasury, Seville. (Pl. 253)

⁴ Christie's, London, December 16, 1987, lots 299 and 300. Possibly based on an Islamic prototype during the Yuan period, it had by the sixteenth century become a Chinese shape. (I am indebted to Patricia Ferguson for this reference.)

⁵ Julian Raby and Unsal Yücel, "Chinese Porcelain at the Ottoman Court," *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue*. London: Sotheby's, 1986 Volume I. p 27.

obtained in bulk rather than being ordered or selected individually. There are pieces in the Topkapi collection decorated with Christian emblems and with Portuguese armorials, arguing against orders for a local market.⁶ Nevertheless, the possibility of a Middle Eastern origin for the fountain design was explored by the author, but no evidence for this connection was found. Furthermore, there was no Ottoman equivalent of the European "East India" companies to relay orders to China for special designs to be placed on porcelain.⁷

John Pope suggested that the fountain motif might have a prototype in Italian Renaissance fountains, but was unsuccessful in his search of books of photographs of Italian Renaissance fountains.⁸ A search through more recent editions of such books

⁶ *Topkapi*, Vol. II, no. 812 a bowl with a Portuguese armorial design on it dated to 1541, and no. 750, two dishes with the sacred monogram on them from the early sixteenth century.

⁷ This problem is discussed by Julian Raby and Unsul Yüsel in *Topkapi*, Vol. I, p 53. They state that there is only the evidence of services made in the eighteenth century to suggest that the Ottomans ever ordered pieces to be specially decorated. Although some are present in Middle Eastern collections, the wares of the Zhengde Period (1506–21) with Arabic inscriptions on them were actually made for Moslems in China. The presence of a fountain ewer in a painting by the seventeenth century Dutch artist Wilhelm Kalf (1619–93) attests to the presence of such pieces in Europe. (D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain*. Pitman Publishing, New York, 1974. Pl. 12)

⁸ Pope (1956) p 135, n. 282. One interesting piece with European Renaissance decoration which seems to be unique to the Topkapi collection is a bowl decorated on the exterior with grotesque masks. (Fig. 14) Such masks were part of the decorative schemes taken by Italian Renaissance artists from the decoration of the walls and ceilings of the Domus Aurea, Nero's Golden House, excavated in the late fifteenth century, and Raphael's early sixteenth century interpretations of grotesque decoration at the Vatican. Such grotesque ornament consisted of vertical panels. Masks were often a part of these panels, so that the Chinese might have been copying only a part of such a panel. The Chinese copied the vase form above the central mask on the bowl as a semicircular appendage, because they did not understand the grotesque ornament from which the mask was taken. We see not only the vase form being copied on a Deruta maiolica plate in the same way as on the porcelain bowl, but also the strange wing-like protrusions that spring out beside the masks are copied in the same way, (Fig. 15) and also on one from Marches, Gubbio. (Fig. 16) The design in the center of the bowl (Fig. 17) is described in the catalogue as "branches springing from a geometric motive enclosed by a wreath of scrolls in the center" (*Topkapi*, vol. II, p 638) while a similar motif on another dish, (#927) also in the Topkapi collection is described as "a small tree springing from an angular motif." (*Topkapi*, vol. II, p 632) The resemblance of this design to a coat of arms led to a search of books of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian coats of arms, but no good match was found. An Italian coin, (Fig. 18) however, from sixteenth-century Milan, has a similar design on it. The leaves seem to be that of a laurel, which appears on the coats of arms of several Italian families. Laurel trees have tiny berries on them – we can see the berries scattered among the leaves. Coins surely could have been taken to China by European merchants. The presence of Renaissance grotesque decoration on these pieces might indicate the presence of Italians in China. Many sources mention that Gaspar da Cruz, the first European to write a book devoted exclusively to China, who was in Canton in 1556, met "a rich Venetian merchant of good understanding." (*Topkapi*, Volume II, p 596 and C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1953, p 69) Several Italians were in Portuguese service during the first half of the sixteenth century, and one Rafaello Perestrello made a successful voyage to China in 1515. (T'ien-Tse Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514–1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1934.)¹² However, Renaissance grotesques had indeed spread to the Iberian peninsula during the early sixteenth century, so the grotesque designs could have been taken to China by the Spanish or the Portuguese, because there was extensive trade between Italy and Spain and Portugal.

Italians had been inveterate traders and explorers since Marco Polo. A Venetian silver coin found in the tomb of the eunuch Wei Chüan who died in 1487 attests to occasional contact with Italian artifacts even before the beginnings of contact with the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century. The coin was made between 1457 and 1462, and the tomb is datable to 1495. The coin could have been carried to China by Arab merchants or Chinese travellers. Wei Chüan was in charge of the harbor authority of Canton from 1447 to 1488. He could have had contact with foreign merchants, because he was cloaking the private trade under tributary traffic. (*Dictionary of Ming Biography*, New York: Colombia University Press, Volume I, p 160).

CPAM, City of "Kwangchow", Excavation of the Tomb of Wei Chüan a Ming Eunuch, in Tung-shan County, Kwangtung Province *Kaogu*, 1977/4, pp 280–283.

Xia Nai, "Latin Tombstones of Yangzhou and the Venetian Silver Coins from Guangzhou," *Kaogu*, 1979/6, vol. 165, pp 532–537 and 572.

Maurizio Scarpri, "A note on a Venetian Coin of the Fifteenth Century discovered in Canton," *Kaogu*, 1979/6, Volume 165, pp 538–541 and 553.

also did not yield any fountains similar to the ones on the ewer. The specific prototype probably lies in a design source, such as a print or engraving, rather than in a real fountain. There are three types of fountains typical of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One is the Gothic (Fig. 5), another is the faceted style (Figs. 10 and 13) and a third is the Renaissance style with a double basin that copies classical models (Fig. 7). The fountains on the ewers seem to most resemble those of the faceted type. The Chinese painters seem to have altered the European fountain motif in a different way on each ewer, even adding a blue and white Chinese jar. (Topkapi Museum, #1013 and Fig. 2) Acanthus leaves, a favorite European Renaissance ornament appear on several of the fountains, including the Mueller ewer. (Fig. 1)⁹ Different beasts appear on the ewers at the base of the fountains, including lions and dragon-like *qilin*. The fountains all have birds' beaks at the top from which streams of water flow.

From the earliest period of contact between the Portuguese and the Chinese in the early sixteenth century, there were pieces made to order with western motifs on them, such as Portuguese armorials. After the founding of Macao in 1555, the Portuguese were given permission to visit trade fairs in Canton once a year to order porcelain. However, many pieces made to Portuguese order date from before that time.¹⁰ Design sources from other European countries than Portugal were explored as possible sources for the fountain motif, since the print market was quite international, with the major source being the Low Countries.

Most important is the motivation for the placement of the fountains on the ewers. The fountain could have been placed on the ewers simply because both the fountain and the ewer are a source of water. However, it is possible that because of the importance of the fountain as a Christian symbol, the Jesuits were somehow involved in ordering the ewers. Matteo Ricci, the most well-known Jesuit to reach China in the sixteenth century, did not arrive in Macao until 1582, too late to influence the decoration of the fountain ewers, which are usually dated to the Jiajing period (1522–66). St. Francis Xavier is thought of as the first missionary to China, but he died in 1552 without actually getting to the mainland. However, Catholic priests settled in Macao from its establishment in 1557. John Pope¹¹ suggested that the fountains on the ewers might have come from an image brought by the Jesuits to China as part of the missionary effort, but he thought that the ewers might have to be dated to the Wanli (1573–1620) period because he knew of only one Jesuit in Macao in 1555. However, from 1552 to the end of the Jiajing period in 1566, twelve Jesuits and one Dominican were in China.¹² In 1565, a residence for Jesuits was established in Macao.

⁹ Not only are the fountains themselves different, but there is also a great variation in decoration at the base, handles and spouts of the ewers, including petal panels, wave decoration, and fish.

¹⁰ Twenty-two pieces of Chinese porcelain with Western motifs on them, including Portuguese arms and Christian symbols are illustrated in *Os Descobrimentos, Portugueses e a Europa do Renascimento*. Lisbon, 1983. A bowl dated 1541 is inscribed "Avia Maria Gracia Plena Emtempo de Pero de Faria." Jessie McNab. *Portugal and Porcelain*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985. pp 16 and 17.

¹¹ Pope (1952) p 135–136, n. 283.

¹² Joseph Sebes, S. J. "The Precursors of Ricci." *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*. Charles E. Ronan, S. J. and Bonnie C. Oh, Co-editors. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988, pp 27–28.

No documentary evidence has been found to indicate that during the middle of sixteenth century European Christian visual materials were taken to China, but there is abundant evidence that the Jesuits in Japan, beginning with Francis Xavier, who began his missionary efforts there in 1549, brought religious paintings with them. In his travels, Mendes Pinto described Francis Xavier carrying a retable of Our Lady in a procession.¹³ The Jesuit P. Froes even "had a Japanese goldsmith make two retables, one of the Nativity, and the other of the Resurrection of Christ for his new chapel in the autumn of 1565."¹⁴ Jesuits moved between China and Japan during this period, and were involved in the trade between the two countries. The Jesuits' share in the sale of the cargoes of Portuguese ships sailing from Macao to Japan supported their Japanese missionary efforts.¹⁵ Thus, there is reason to postulate that Jesuit imagery had also reached China by this time.

In 1578, Spanish Franciscans came to Macao with a print of the Virgin, and a painting of the Virgin and Child copied from a painting in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome reached Macao, and in the last decades of the sixteenth century more religious paintings were brought from Rome and from the Spanish settlements in the Philippines.¹⁶ From the beginning, the Jesuits used visual materials to influence the Chinese. Writing to the general of the order in 1598, the Jesuit Longobardi wrote asking for "images and the simplest pictures expressing the mysteries of the Faith."¹⁷ The presence of lacquer objects with the Jesuit monogram made for the Jesuits in Japan strengthens the possibility that the fountain ewers were made for ritual use by the Jesuits. Among these Japanese lacquer objects, all in the Namban style, were ciboria to hold the host, shrines that held religious paintings, (Fig. 3) bowls for holy water, and stands for missals or Bibles. The Jesuits were probably involved in the porcelain trade, since they invested in and participated in the maritime trade to help support themselves. The Italian merchant Carletti, who was in Macao from 1598–1601 bought the finest blue and white porcelain "con il mezzo de Padri della campagna di Gesù," with the help or through the intermediary of the Jesuit fathers.¹⁸ The Jesuits were the most important order in the Padroado, the Portuguese name for the formal relationship between the secular and religious powers in Asia. Because the Portuguese Crown

¹³ *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. Edited and translated by Rebecca D. Catz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1989), p 474.

Also see Grace A. H. Vlam. "Kings and Heroes: Western-Style Painting in Momoyama Japan." *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. XXXIX, 3/4 MCMLXXVII (1978) pp 220–250. Francis Xavier brought two paintings with him when he entered Japan: a Madonna, and a Madonna with Child, p 221, n. 3.

¹⁴ John E. Mc Call "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: I, The Pioneers." *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. X, 1947, pp 121–137, p 124.

¹⁵ Martha Boyer. *Japanese Export Lacquer*. The National Museum Copenhagen, 1959. p 2.

¹⁶ John Mc Call. "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East" IV. (In China and Macao before 1635." *Artibus Asiae*. Vol. XI, 1948 pp 45–69, p 47.

¹⁷ Arnold H. Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942, p 56, n. 5.

¹⁸ F. Carletti, *Ragionamenti del mio Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*. ed. Gianfranco Silvestro. Turin: Einaudi Editore, 1958, p 162. (I quote the Italian because there has been some question about the translation of this important statement.) Furthermore, Father Melchior Nunez Barreto, on his way to Japan in 1555 made two journeys with the merchants to Canton. (James Broderick, S. J., *The Progress of the Jesuits*, (1556–79). New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947, p 209, n. 3.

could not provide complete financial support for the Jesuits' missionary efforts, they were given permission to invest in and participate in maritime trade.¹⁹

Some pieces of sixteenth-century porcelain clearly show Jesuit influence. Most notable is this ewer (Fig. 4) of the second half of the sixteenth century with the Jesuit monogram, IHS, on it. Similar in shape to the fountain ewers, and usually dated to the 1540's or 1550's, it might have been used for ritual purposes. Ewers may have been ordered by the Jesuits to be used for the washing of the celebrant's hands at the Eucharist. Also, water and wine for the service of the altar were kept in containers, and the liquid was then poured into the chalice from the ewer. It also might have been used for baptism. The design on this piece is similar to that of medallions on the cloister of the Monastery of San Jeronimo in Lisbon,²⁰ and may have come from a design source brought to China by the Jesuits for didactic purposes.

There are several possible explanations in Christian iconography for the presence of the fountains on the ewers. First, the fountain is the symbol of salvation. Christ is identified with the fountain or the well of living water, as in *Psalms* 36:9: "For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light." The fountain is also symbolic of baptism, life and rebirth. The flowing fountain symbolized the waters of eternal life. In *Jeremiah* 17:13: "...the Lord, the fountain of living water" *Proverbs* 14:27 "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life." The fountain is also mentioned in *Revelation*: 7:16 "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat."

7:17 "For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

22:1 "and he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb."

Second, the fountain is also one of the symbols of the Virgin Mary, as described in the *Song of Solomon* 4:12: "A garden inclosed (sic.) is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." 4:15: "A fountain of gardens a well of living waters and streams from Lebanon." Fountains can be found in the background of paintings of the Virgin Mary, such as one by the Flemish sixteenth-century painter Bernard van Orley. (Fig.5).

The fountains on the ewers could also have come from the fountains in a type of painting called the *Virgin tota pulchra*, from the *Song of Solomon* 4:7 in the Vulgate version of the Bible: "Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te." (Thou art all beautiful my love, and there is no spot in thee.) Here we see the Virgin surrounded by symbols of her immaculacy taken from the *Song of Solomon*. This type of portrayal first appeared in France and was adopted in Spain. The fountains on the ewers could have been adapted from a fountain in the background of this type of painting, (Figs. 6A, 6B and 7) with the Virgin surrounded by symbols from the Marian litanies.

¹⁹ George Bryan Souza. *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and society in China and the South China Sea, 1630–1754*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p 25.

²⁰ *Du Tage à la mer de Chine: une épopée portugaise*. Paris, 1992, p 154. Two similar ewers are in Portuguese private collections.

The Virgin in Spanish and Spanish colonial art was also seen in the guise of the Apocalyptic Woman described in *Revelation* 12:1 "And she brought forth a manchild who was to rule all nations, and there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon was cast out, that old Serpent, called Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." The presence of the serpent under the feet of the Virgin Mary also referred to *Genesis* 3:15: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." The Virgin crushing the serpent or dragon beneath her heel also represented the Church crushing heresy, an important theme of the counter-reformation. The beasts on the ewers could have been influenced by the dragons or serpents in this type of painting.

One of the first representations of the Virgin as Apocalyptic woman can be seen in the altarpiece of the Church of the Antigua in Valladolid, executed by Juan de Juni between 1545 and 1562. The Virgin stands on a crescent moon, "beneath which a Serpent is crushed."²¹ However, a dragon can be seen under a fountain at the lower right of the middle (*tota pulchra*) section of a painting on an altarpiece by an unknown artist some time before 1550. (Fig. 8), indicating that the association of the dragon with Virgin may have occurred earlier.

However, the conflation of the portrayal of the Virgin *tota pulchra* with the Apocalyptic woman most likely did not occur in art until the latter part of the sixteenth century,²² too late for a positive conclusion that the juxtaposition of the fountain and the dragon may have held significance.

The presence of a painting of the "tota pulchra" type on the wall of a 16th-century church in Mexico²³ indicates its importance as a genre outside of Spain, and strengthens the possibility that such a representation might have been taken to China as well.

The fountain also had a prominent place in other paintings concerned with Biblical themes, such as *Susanna in her Bath Observed by the Elders*. (Fig. 9) Perhaps the fountain that most closely resembles the ones on the ewers is *The Temptation of Adam and Eve*. (Fig. 10) The fountain in this scene most likely represents the description in *Genesis* II, 10: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted and became into four heads." All of the fountains on the ewers have four streams of water, or rivers, coming from them.²⁴ Interestingly, the masks on this fountain resemble the masks on the ewers.

The fountain was also used in some sixteenth-century paintings to symbolize the

²¹ Suzanne L. Stratton. *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press (1994) p 55.

²² Stratton (1994) Fig. 39. Print by Marten de Vos, *Virgo Parens Dilecta*, which shows the Virgin standing on the Serpent with the symbols of her immaculacy (including a fountain) in the background.

²³ Manuel Touissaint. *Pintura Colonial in Mexico*. Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1982. Pl. 48. Huejotzingo, Pue. Purisma. Fresco. (Franciscan convent, second half of the sixteenth century.)

²⁴ Barbara G. Lane. "The Genesis Woodcuts of a Dutch Adaptation of the Vita Christi," *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing Rosenwald*. Edited by Sandra Hindman, Washington: Library of Congress, 1982, pp 63-85, shows many fifteenth-century Netherlandish examples of the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden in which the fountain is a prominent feature.

fountain of salvation, connected with the theme of the veneration of the precious blood.²⁵

Continuing to be an important Christian symbol used in China, a large fountain is prominently featured on the third story of the facade of St. Paul's in Macao, which was built in the early seventeenth century.²⁶

The vase in the Percival David Foundation is the only one of the series that is not a ewer, and the only one to have a horse on one side (Fig. 11) and an elephant on the other (Fig. 12). If we look at the elephant and horse in terms of Christian iconography, then we can see the relationship between the decoration on the vase and that on the ewers. It is possible that the horse can be seen as a unicorn, although missing its horn. The juxtaposition of the unicorn and fountain is a familiar one, as we see in the well-known Unicorn Tapestry (Fig. 13). The unicorn symbolized Christ and the hunt of the unicorn was "seen as an allegory of the Annunciation of the birth of Christ by the Angel Gabriel,"²⁷ while the maiden in the enclosed garden in the tapestry was symbolic of the Virgin Mary. The unicorn was also thought to have the ability to purify water by dipping his horn in it.²⁸

The elephant was thought to be wise and was therefore symbolic of Christ.²⁹ The elephant and unicorn were also sometimes portrayed as enemies.³⁰ The unicorn as an allegorical figure disappeared in Christian art after the Council of Trent in 1563 outlawed its use.³¹

John Pope led the way for the association of a source for the fountains with the Jesuits. The exact source for the fountain motif on the ewers is still unknown, but from the evidence presented here we can see the real possibility of Jesuit involvement in bringing the image to China, as well as several connections with Christian iconography for the image. Thus, the relationship between these ewers and the Christian presence in China is established.

²⁵ See Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1922, pp 108–122. Two early sixteenth-century examples are the *Fountain of the Precious Blood Adored by the Royal Family of Portugal*, dated 1516–17, (Fig. 58) in which the blood from the crucified Christ pours into a vessel around which the faithful kneel, and *The Mystical Bath of the Souls in the Blood of the Redeemer* dated ca. 1506 by Jean Bellegambe (Fig. 62) showing the blood of the crucified Christ pouring into a basin in which the faithful bathe. Mâle also illustrates the Fountain in a stained-glass window at the Chateau de Boumois, of the same period (Fig. 60) in which there are two basins under the crucified Christ. In the upper basin Adam and Eve are washed. The blood then flows through the mouths of four beasts (of the Apocalypse) – they are the four rivers of Paradise – into the lower basin to bathe the remainder of humankind. See also Naomi Miller, *French Renaissance Fountains*. New York: Garland Publishers (1977) and Paul A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels." *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950) pp 41–138. Underwood discusses confronted peacocks as a symbol of immortality and resurrection and their presence atop certain fountains in Medieval manuscripts. (p 88) The birds atop the fountains could be connected with peacocks.

²⁶ M. Hugo-Brunt, "An Architectural Survey of the Jesuit Seminary Church of St. Paul's, Macao." *Journal of Oriental Studies* 1, No. 2 (University of Hong Kong) (1954) pp 327–344. Pl. IV.

²⁷ *Mythical Beasts*, ed. by John Cherry. London, British Museum Press, 1995, p 44.

²⁸ *Mythical Beasts*, p 56.

²⁹ G. C. Druce, "The Elephant in Medieval Legend and Art." *The Archaeological Journal* 76, 1919, pp 1–73, p 7.

³⁰ *Mythical Beasts*, p 49, a drawing in Queen Mary's psalter of the early fourteenth century shows a unicorn fighting an elephant.

³¹ *Mythical Beasts*, p 52.

Illustrations



Fig. 1. Ewer with fountain motif. Chinese porcelain painted in underglaze blue. Jiajing period (1522–66). H. 31.8
Base: "May infinite happiness embrace all your affairs".
Collection of Shirley M. Mueller, Indianapolis, Indiana

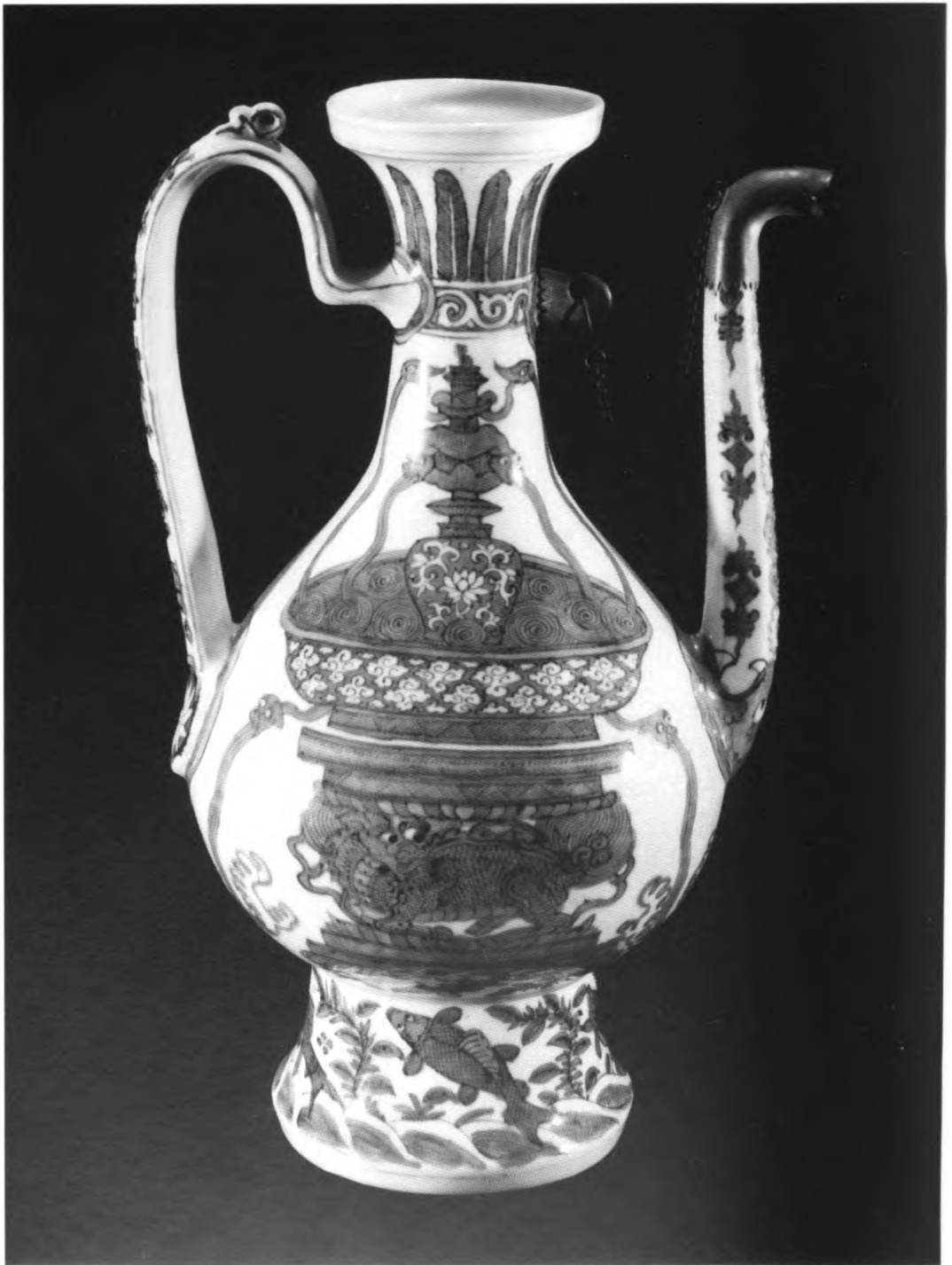


Fig. 2. Ewer with fountain motif. Chinese porcelain painted in underglaze blue. Jiajing period (1522–66). H. 32.0
Base: reign mark of the Xuande period (1426–35)
Collection of Professor and Mrs. Norman R. Weiss, New York, New York

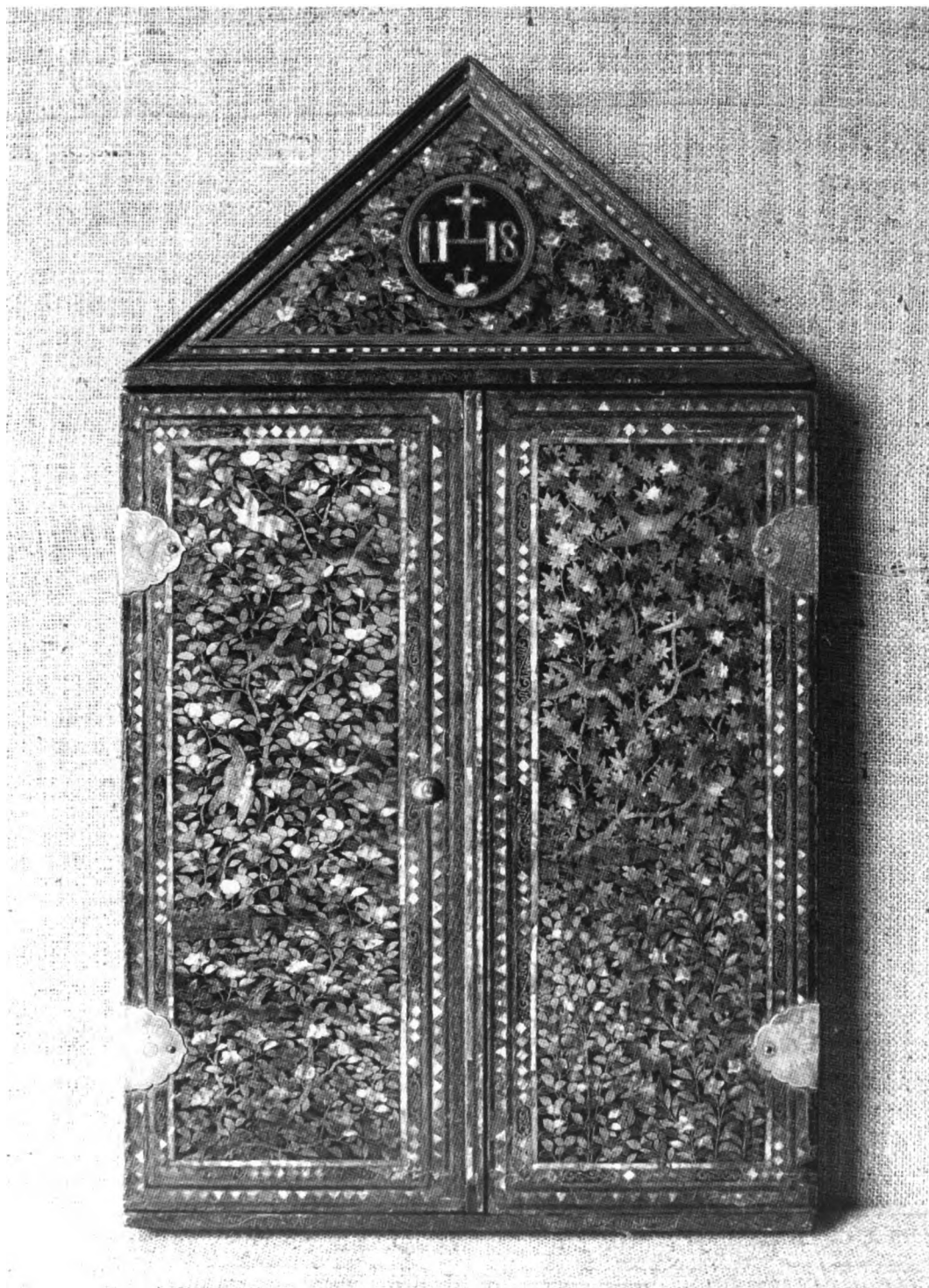


Fig. 3. Lacquer shrine. Japan
Late sixteenth-early seventeenth century 68.2 X 30.4 X 5.6
Wolverhampton Art Galleries and Museums 0.5.232



Fig. 4. Ewer. Chinese porcelain painted in underglaze blue. Sixteenth century. H 17.8
The Mottahedeh Collection



Fig. 5. Bernaert van Orley (active by 1515, died 1541/42)
Virgin and Child with Angels
Netherlandish. Oil on wood. H. 85.4, W. 69.9
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913. 14.40.632

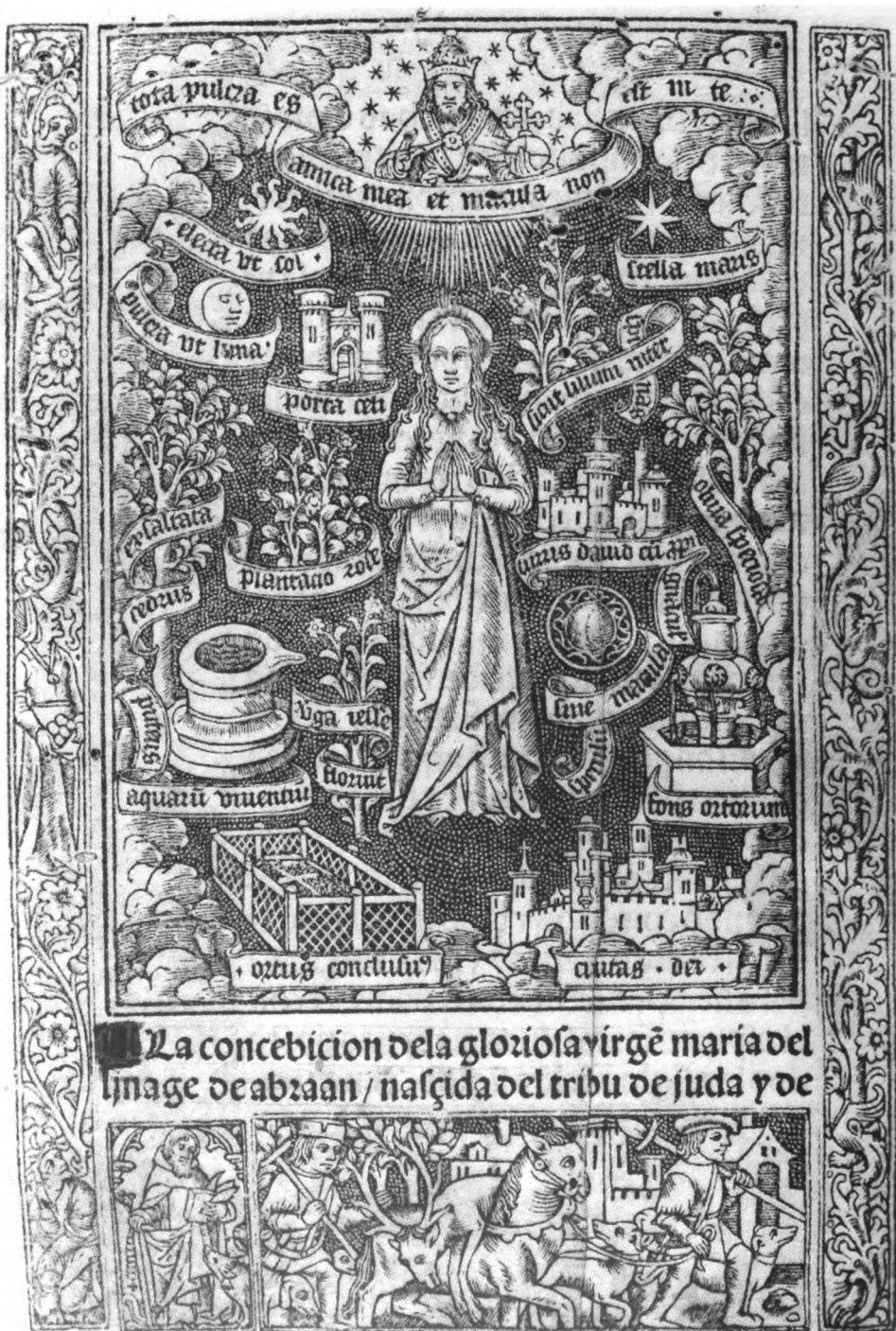


Fig. 6A. Unknown artist of ca. 1500
The Virgin "Tota Pulchra"
 Frontispiece of *Heures de la Vierge a l'usage de Rome*
 Published by Thielman Kerver (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional)



Fig. 7. Vicente Macip. 1531–35
The Virgin "Tota Pulchra"
 Collection Banco Central Hispanoamericano, Madrid



Fig. 8. Unknown artist of the sixteenth century
Birth of the Virgin, The Virgin "Tota Pulchra," and The Embrace at the Golden Gate
 Trasobares, Church of the Assumption, (Arxiu Mas)



Fig. 9. Aert van Ortkens
Susanna in her Bath Observed by the Elders, Flemish, c. 1520–25
 Pen and brown ink on cream antique laid paper, Diam. 227 mm (actual)
 Loan from Veer Associates Ltd.
 President and Fellows, Harvard College
 Harvard University Art Museums, 100.1980



Fig. 10. Antoine Vérard
The Temptation of Adam and Eve, French, c. 1500
Woodcut. Page from "La Bible en Francoys, Paris"
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924, 24.16.1

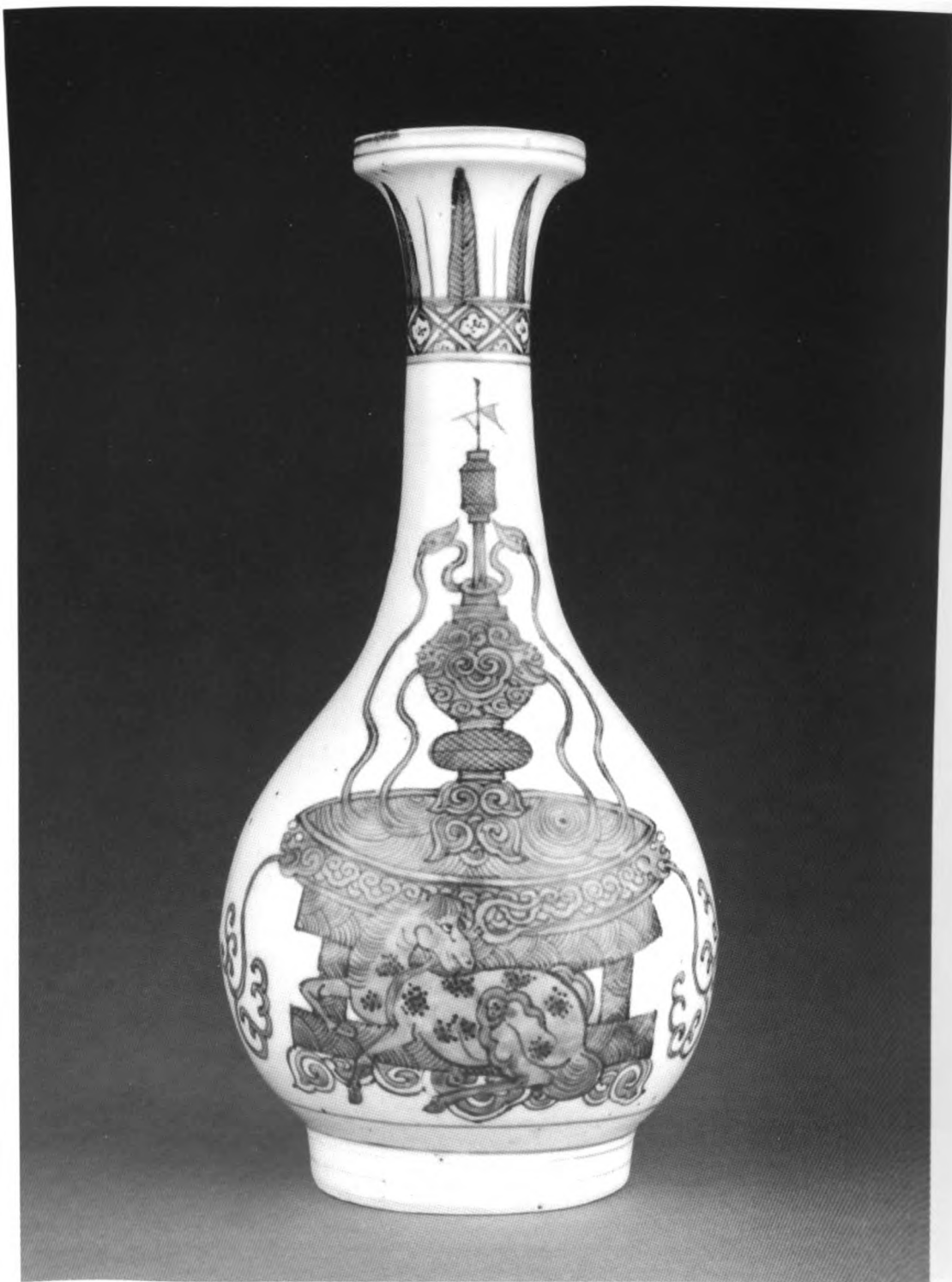


Fig. 11. Vase. Underglaze blue decoration
China. Jiajing period (1522–66). H. 30.2
Base: a hare
The Percival David Foundation, 689



Fig. 12. Vase. Underglaze blue decoration
China. Jiajing period (1522–66). H. 30.2
Base: a hare
The Percival David Foundation, 689



Fig. 13. *The Hunt of the Unicorn*
 II. *The Unicorn at the Fountain*
 French or Flemish. Late fifteenth century
 Wool and silk with metal threads
 From the Chateau of Verteuil
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art
 The Cloisters Collection, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1937. 37.80.2



Fig. 14. Bowl. Porcelain painted in underglaze blue. China. Jiajing period (1522–66)
Base: reign mark of the Jiajing period
The Topkapi Museum, TKS 15/1512



Fig. 15. Italian maiolica plate. Deruta, c. 1510–40
Diam. 22.6. The British Museum, Henderson Bequest
MLA 1878, 12–30, 401



Fig. 16. Italian maiolica dish on low foot. The Marches and/or Gubbio, 1529
Diam. 21.8. The British Museum
MLA 1855, 12-1, 93

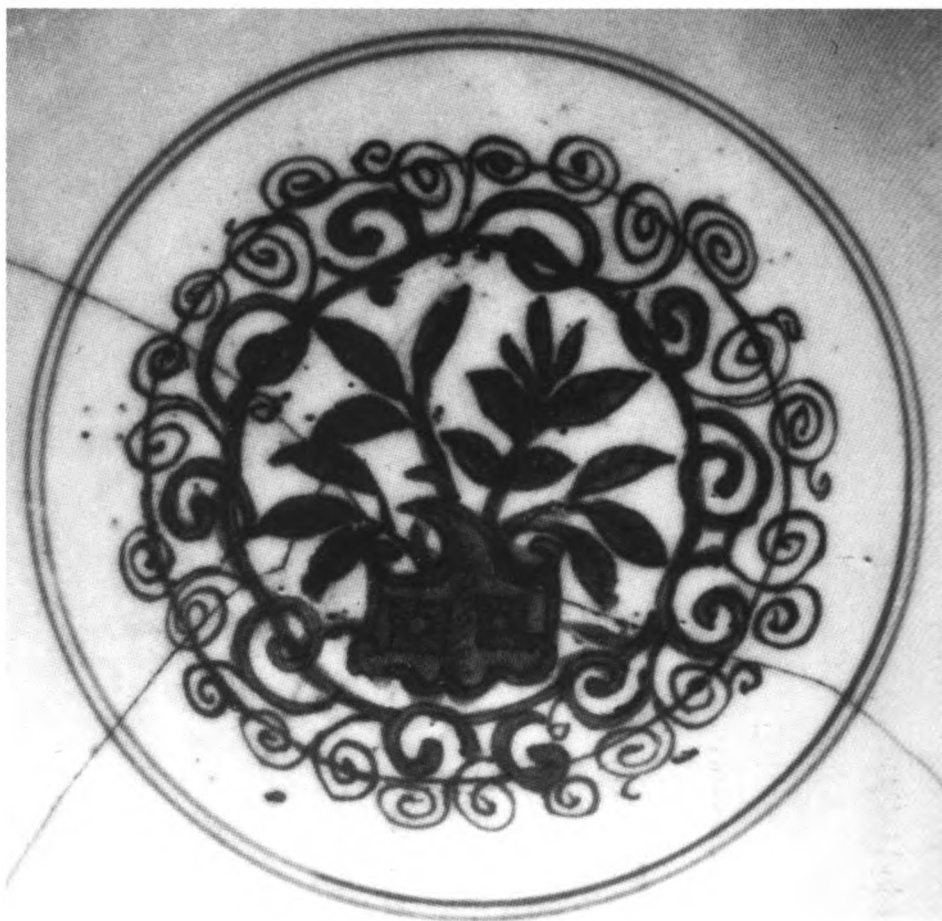


Fig. 17. Interior of Fig. 14



Fig. 18. Coin (Reverse)
Marguerite de Foix, Marquise de Saluces, Silver. 1516
The British Museum, Corpus 711

Lessons in Stone :
Baodingshan and its Hell Imagery

by

Karil J. Kucera

“There is a road to Paradise, but you choose not to go.
There is no door to hell, and yet you force your way to woe.”
– Chinese proverb¹

On a remote, rocky outcropping fifteen kilometers north of Dazu City, Sichuan province, sits Baodingshan, a monastic complex incorporating two grottoes, Little Buddha Bend (*Xiaofowan*) and Great Buddha Bend (*Dafowan*). Baodingshan was an active pilgrimage site into at least the late Ming dynasty, and photos taken of the site during excavations in the 1940s suggest that parts of the site remained in use during the Qing dynasty.² Primary construction at the site dates from the later Song period, but evidence of continued carving activity is seen in reliefs 23 through 26, which date to the Qing and modern eras.³ The complex has until now received limited attention, partly due to the relatively recent re-establishment of public access.⁴

My primary purpose here will be to examine one of the thirty-one tableaux carved within the Great Buddha Bend, specifically relief number twenty, the depiction of Dizang and the Ten Kings of Hell. I have chosen this tableau to demonstrate how Buddhist and indigenous ideologies combine, reflecting Buddhism's flexible nature while highlighting local Chinese tastes. Since the fundamental iconography of the relief is based on a sutra of non-Indic origins, the addition of various real-life components to the tableau is clearly meant to help the Chinese viewer more closely identify with the souls of the damned, hopefully inspiring them to temper their behaviour in order to avoid a similar fate. Thus the hell tableau at Baodingshan represents a truly Chinese work of art, created by and for the Chinese Buddhist congregation. This characteristic is accentuated by the dynamic quality of the sculpted depictions of the hells and the admonitions, with energy being drawn in large part from these more secular portions of the hell tableau.

This idea of Chinese influence can also be extended outward such that its full effect is seen in the overall configuration of the Great Buddha Bend grotto at Baodingshan. What the pilgrim or tourist encounters at the grotto is a virtually uninterrupted frieze of carvings, comprising altogether thirty scenes punctuated by

¹ Proverb number 1878 in Clifford H. Plopper's *Chinese Religion Seen Through the Proverb* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Co., 1969).

² Yang Jialuo, *The Discovery (1945) of 6216 Statues Carved on Rocks During the T'ang and Sung Dynasties at Ta Tsu* (Taipei: Encyclopedia Sinica Institute, 1968).

³ Liu Changjiu, ed., *Dazu shike yanjiu* (Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 1985), pp. 494–495.

⁴ Baodingshan was put on the register of important cultural sites in 1961, and only opened to the general public as of 1981. Liu, p. 468.

two caves.⁵ Several authors have likened Great Buddha Bend to “an illustrated story-book,” but none has pursued this statement in an attempt to show exactly how this site is exceptional or what reasons may have prompted such a dramatic departure from convention. My secondary purpose will be to show how Baodingshan’s Great Buddha Bend grotto represents the first major work in stone to respond to the laity’s needs by adapting a format previously popularized in another medium, the illustrated handscroll.

Zhao Zhifeng and the Production of Baodingshan

The grotto site and the original temple complex were the product of seventy years of one man’s religious devotion. Zhao Zhifeng (1160–1249), a monk trained in the teachings of the Esoteric Yogacara school of Buddhism, supervised not only the carving of the grotto, but also the construction of the monastic complex, both meant to create a center for esotericism at Baodingshan.⁶ The sandstone substratum proved ideal for Zhao’s undertaking, and by 1249 CE the grotto’s rockface had been worked into over 1,500 individual carved figures, spanning an area 500 meters in length, with tableaux ranging from fifteen to thirty meters in height.

Information available on Zhao Zhifeng is scant. A later gazetteer records his birth in Dazu county in the twenty-ninth year of the Shaoxing reign of Emperor Gaozong [1160 CE]. At five years of age, he was sent to reside in a monastery, subsequently becoming a Buddhist novice. Liu comments that Zhao was sent away as his mother was ill; this would not seem improbable for the times, given that such an act would guarantee Zhao’s education as well as gain merit for the family.⁷ Accounts as to where Zhao was sent are conflicting. One source places Zhao in Hangzhou while another has Zhao studying at the school of a famous Sichuan Yogacara master named Liu. The latter seems more likely as Esoteric practices were still prevalent in Sichuan in the Song dynasty, holdovers from earlier Tang practices no longer popular in the heart of the empire.⁸

After sixteen years of study, Zhao went west, wandering and preaching for three years. In 1179, he returned to Baodingshan to establish Longevity Temple [*Shengshou si*], becoming its first monk. The area was named “*Baodingshan*” (Precious Crown Mountain), due to its expansive rise, and there Zhao Zhifeng took an oath to disperse the Buddhist Law to all, to keep the surrounding countryside free from evil calamities, such as flooding, and to bring harmony to the region.

For seventy years, Zhao dedicated himself to his vision of Baodingshan, gaining for the region untold merit and for himself the title of “Master of the Sixth Genera-

⁵ There are thirty-one scenes total; however, number thirty-one is placed on the path coming up the hillside from the river below, and thus cannot be counted among the continuous grotto works.

⁶ *Dazu Grottoes*, (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1984), p. 5.

⁷ Liu, p. 261.

⁸ The connection to Master Liu is further reinforced by his depiction in relief number twenty-one at Great Buddha Bend, which is named after him.

tion of the Esoteric Sect in China." Zhao was also responsible for work carried out at thirteen other sites, as well as for the construction of six monastic complexes, all within Dazu county.⁹ As shall be discussed later, Zhao is immortalized in stone at Baodingshan.

The Great Buddha Bend grotto follows the natural contours of the surrounding landscape, taking a semi-circular shape formed by the erosion of the rock by local springs. The scenes at Great Buddha Bend were probably meant to be viewed by a pilgrim approaching on foot by a path, no longer in use, which leads to the Crooked Water (*Juxue*) River below [figs. 1 and 2].¹⁰ Thus, one would enter the grotto area at what is today scene number five, the depiction of the three Huayan saints [fig. 3]. To the right of them is a large carved inscription, bearing the name "Baodingshan," over which is a carved grouping said to represent the monk Zhao Zhifeng at three different stages in his life [fig. 4]. Being so prominently placed, Zhao would then be on hand personally and eternally to welcome pilgrims to the site.

After entering the grotto, the pilgrim would have then proceeded to the left, walking along while a continuous story unrolled at his right hand, until he had come nearly full circle, having crossed the Buddha-Bless-You Bridge.¹¹ At this point, he could then choose either to ascend to the monastic complex overlooking the grotto via another set of stairs, or complete the circuit by proceeding to what is now scene number three, the Revolving Wheel of Transmigration [fig. 5], this reminder of the continuous nature of karma serving as a fitting end to the circle.

It must be noted that the numbering system at Great Buddha Bend was inaugurated by Yang Jialuo, the archaeologist credited with the rediscovery in the 1940s of most of the sites in Dazu county. No explanation is given as to why he chose to number the reliefs as he did, an order which disrupts the likely sequence of tableaux. Yang's numbering can be reconciled by assuming that he entered from a now-unused stairway by the monastic complex at the top of the hill, and then proceeded to number the reliefs as he continued to his right, making a carved lion figure number one and a grouping on the downward staircase number thirty-one.¹² As of 1994, entry by this route was no longer possible, the pilgrim or tourist instead beginning the circumambulation at number twenty-four, the Shrine of the Daoist Sages.

Relief Number Twenty: The Hell Tableau

The relief depicting hell at Baodingshan can be found on the far end of the north side of Great Buddha Bend. Of the thirty-one sculpted reliefs, it is numbered twenty and

⁹ *Dazu xianzhe*: Sichuan sheng (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976) np.

¹⁰ Further evidence to support an earlier river entry to the grotto lies in the fact that it was necessary to build an access road to the site "after Liberation." Zhang Jiaqi, "The Splendour of the Grotto Arts of the Later Period in China," *Oriental Art* n.s. 35 (Spring 1989), p. 10.

¹¹ Zhang, p. 2. It is not clear whether this bridge was always in place, or whether a pilgrim would simply have proceeded downward upon reaching the scene depicting Master Liu's asceticism. Given that such an abrupt ending would leave the circuit incomplete, it seems more likely that a bridge of some sort existed in Song times.

¹² For a listing of the reliefs following Yang's numbering system, please see Appendix B.

measures fourteen meters high by nineteen meters wide [fig. 6]. A combination of naturalistic and geometric carving styles can be seen at Baodingshan, an unusual occurrence if the site were an officially-sanctioned sculptural work, most of which tended toward the geometric style.¹³ In the hell tableau, this change can be seen as one's eye travels down the cliff-face, as the more frontal geometric carvings at the top give way to almost free-standing forms at the viewer's level. A direct link can then be made between the prescribed traditions involved in depictions of religious icons such as the Buddhas of the Ten Directions [fig. 7], and the latitude afforded the artisan when working on secular subject matter, as is seen in the drunkard not recognizing his own son in the Admonition Against Alcohol portion of the work [fig. 8]. The relief can thus be divided into four different registers with relative ease; I will use these divisions in the following discussion of the hell tableau.

The uppermost register, approximately 13.8 meters above the pathway, depicts a line of ten Buddhas, referred to as the Buddhas of the Ten Directions.¹⁴ Each is seated frontally in the lotus position within a shell-like niche. The effects of time have eroded away much of their facial features, yet each Buddha appears to be distinctly garbed as well as differentiated by his particular *mudra* or attribute.¹⁵ The painted rays of the niches mimic the effect produced by the central figure of the second level, that of Dizang Bodhisattva, the only figure to cross over two registers [fig. 9].

Although the second register is devoted mainly to the Ten Kings and their assistants, the image of Dizang dominates, his ribboned garment carrying over above his head to form the outline of his radiant aureole. This ribboning continues across his folded legs, serving to link him to the arenas of suffering below. The gold still glistens on his bejewelled crown and necklace, recalling Dizang's status as Bodhisattva.¹⁶ His position, seated on a lotus throne and central among the Ten Kings, yet linked to the heavens, reminds the devotee of Dizang's vow to save the damned. He is the true ruler of hell, capable of releasing loved ones from their torments provided their descendants fulfill their ritual needs. Chapter seven of the Sutra on the Origins of Dizang Bodhisattva [*Dizang Pusa benyuan jing*] is devoted to the explanation of blessings received by the living who have masses said for the dead, make images of Dizang or who but for one moment take refuge in Dizang.

Flanking Dizang Bodhisattva are two figures that remain largely unidentified in the main body of literature regarding this site [see fig. 9 as well as figs. 19 and 20].¹⁷

¹³ Ann Paludan, "Enlightenment in stone: The buffalo carvings of Baodingshan," *Apollo* (February 1994), p. 12. I here use "naturalistic" versus "geometric" as defined by Paludan's article. Paludan views the changes in sculptural approach to have been consciously made by either Zhao Zhifeng or the artisans. Although this theory is plausible, she does not theorize as to what motivated such an action.

¹⁴ Liu, *Dazu shike yanjiu*, p. 485.

¹⁵ Stephen Teiser gives a correlation between ten Buddhas and the Ten Kings in The Scripture on the Ten Kings (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), appendix nine. I have as yet to ascertain whether his grouping corresponds to the Buddha figures and the ten kings as depicted at Baodingshan.

¹⁶ In the search for liturgical precedents to explain iconographical elements, it must be said that Dizang's depiction at Baodingshan does not correlate to the rules laid out in the non-apocryphal Tantric work, Rules on the Bodhisattva Dizang [*Dizang Pusa yigui*], which date to the early 8th century. Marinus Willem DeVisser, The Bodhisattva Tizang (Jizo) in China and Japan (Berlin: Oesterheld and Co., 1914), p. 45.

¹⁷ Liu, *Dazu shike yanjiu*, p. 485. This work identifies the two simply as monk and nun attendants to Dizang Bodhisattva.

Several possibilities arise if one studies the iconography of the two more closely. The bare-headed figure on the right is carrying the standard monk's staff while the figure on the left cradles either a begging bowl or a pearl of wisdom. Seen outside of the entire tableau's context, they therefore appear to be acolytes of Dizang. Another possibility exists, however, when the tableau as a whole is viewed as a representation of the Ten Kings and the underworld.

Using scrolls depicting the Ten Kings as comparative material, the iconography of the begging bowl and the monk's staff points toward very distinct personages. The clean-shaven acolyte holding the monk's staff could be either another manifestation of Dizang Bodhisattva represented in monk's garb or the well-known disciple of the Buddha, *Mulian*.¹⁸ A popular description of the Buddha's disciple Mulian is that of a shaven-headed monk carrying a six-ringed staff that he has borrowed from the Buddha in order to force open the gates of hell.¹⁹ Both individuals are dependent upon the monk's staff to gain access to hell.

Dizang is often portrayed carrying a miraculous jewel as well as his six-ringed staff, "with the one, he opens Hades, and with the other, he lights up the dark abode of suffering souls."²⁰ It is perhaps this jewel which is the object being held by the monk to Dizang's right. Dizang is also sometimes depicted as a monk holding his alms bowl [fig. 10]. All three representations – bodhisattva, figure with staff or figure with bowl/jewel – might then possibly be viewed as varied manifestations of Dizang Bodhisattva.

However, transformation texts also have Mulian using his bowl to transport himself from the darkest regions of hell to confer with the Buddha in the heavens.²¹ Given the iconographical similarities and Mulian's popularity among a broad spectrum of the laity, the figures to the right and left of Dizang Bodhisattva could also be seen as duplicate representations of Mulian.

A third possibility exists, involving yet another individual and yet another textual source. This is the prospect that the figure holding the begging bowl is *Daoming*, an individual taken to the underworld in a case of mistaken identity.²² Before being returned to this world, Daoming encounters Dizang Bodhisattva who guides him back to his earthly life while instructing him to have proper devotional images of the bodhisattva made.²³ In later years, Daoming himself developed as a savior of other

¹⁸ William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese-Buddhist Terms with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index*. (Taipei: Zhongwen Publishing Co., 1976), p. 199. Mulian's Sanskrit name is *Maudgalyayana*, "one of the ten chief disciple of Sakyamuni, specially noted for miraculous powers." Chen gives the source of the Mulian story as the *Syamajataka*. See Kenneth Chen, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 24.

¹⁹ Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 161.

²⁰ E. T. C. Werner, *A Dictionary of Chinese Mythology* (Boston: Longwood Press, 1977), p. 497. See also DeVisser, pp. 44–45.

²¹ Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, p. 162.

²² According to Teiser, Daoming makes his first appearance in Dunhuang manuscripts in a story of unknown date entitled *The Record of the Returned Soul*; see *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, p. 66. See also Annemarie von Gabain "The Purgatory of the Buddhist Uighurs: Book Illustrations from Turfan," in *Mahayanist Art after A. D. 900*, ed. William Watson, *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia*, no. 2. (London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, and the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1972), p. 26.

²³ Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, p. 68.

tormented souls, his name being re-written to translate as "Guide to the Dark Regions," and is noted as such in twelfth-century literature.²⁴ Daoming appears in this form in an illustrated copy of The Scripture on the Ten Kings [fig. 11] as well as in other earlier sculpted works seen in Dazu County at Beishan, a site located not far from Baodingshan [fig. 12].

Aside from the two monks seen in the central triad, yet another figure portraying a monk appears in the hell tableau. Placed underneath a small-scale pagoda, this image has been tentatively identified as an additional rendering of Zhao Zhifeng [fig. 13].²⁵ Zhao's presence in the depths of hell, where one might expect to find a depiction of one of the more illustrious figures discussed above, points toward a changing usage of these religious works of art as well as a shift in perceptions of the sanctity of religious imagery. This representation of Zhao Zhifeng, and its function within the tableau, will be addressed at greater length within the discussion of text and image.

The Ten Kings

Life-size representations of the Ten Kings of Hell and their attendants complete the second register of the hell tableau. Whenever the Ten Kings are seen in conjunction with Dizang Bodhisattva, they are presented standing, as is the case at Baodingshan.²⁶ Each king and magistrate is fronted by a table over which is hung a piece of blue cloth, on which are inscribed his titles and a corresponding hymn.²⁷ By the late Song dynasty, dissemination of the Scripture on the Ten Kings was widespread.

The practice surrounding the Ten Kings centers on the idea that a soul passes in front of each of the kings at predetermined points over a three-year duration. In order to assure favorable judgment and make for an easier passage, living family members were [and are] encouraged to have ceremonies performed, have sutras copied, make contributions to the Buddhist community, and have religious icons produced. If all went well, they could rest assured that their loved ones would arrive safely in heaven or at least have a favorable rebirth.

It was not without economic hardship that the desired results were achieved. For those unfortunate souls who do not have remaining family, specific dates such as the fifteenth day of the seventh month [Dizang's birthday], are set aside to aid in their emancipation from hell. Such days were comparable to the general amnesties granted by the emperor, which came in response to the high numbers of individuals incarcerated and the empire's inability to maintain the rising numbers. It must be remembered

²⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁵ This figure is omitted within the survey of the hell scenes found in Dazu shike yan jiu. However, Dazu xianzhi: Sichuan sheng, np, specifically identifies this figure as "Standing sculpture of Zhao Zhifeng."

²⁶ DeVisser, p. 29.

²⁷ For approximate translations of the hymns relating to the Ten Kings, see Teiser, Scripture on the Ten Kings, pp. 196–219. As descriptions of the hells are not part of the original Scripture on the Ten Kings, and have not been translated elsewhere, I have included translations of the inscriptions connected with them in Appendix A.

that, like prison, Buddhist hell is not a permanent condition, but rather purgatorial in the end.

Overall, the Ten Kings are not represented in the tableau so much as sacred entities but as men of justice, and although the kings' placement within the work at Baodingshan concurs with that seen in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, the hymns inscribed under the kings do not.²⁸ Also notably absent from the carved inscriptions of the hell relief is any reference to celebrating the days of fast associated with each king at set weekly and yearly intervals. And unlike the kings depicted in illustrated scriptures and most printed works, the kings depicted at Baodingshan do not have the word "king" [*wang*] inscribed on their caps. Although the figures themselves appear not to have been altered, the pieces of blue draped cloth and the inscriptions have clearly been restored.

Another change can be seen in the presentation of the Ten Kings' attendants. Traditionally, royal attendants are present in pairs or not present at all; however, within Great Buddha Bend grotto, perhaps due to space restrictions, each king would appear to have only one attendant. The attendants are male, with the exception of two female figures who flank King Yama (*Yanluo Tianzi*) and the King of Transformations (*Biancheng Dawang*) [see figs. 26 and 28]. The presence of these women coincides with the female donor figures appearing within the Ten Kings handscrolls [figs. 14 and 15].

Introduced by the Officer of Immediate Retribution (*Xianbao siguan*) [fig. 16], the Ten Kings follow the standard order of placement as given in the scripture.²⁹ Beginning with the Magnanimous King of Qin (*Qinguang Dawang*) [fig. 17] at the far right, the series concludes with the King who Turns the Wheel (*Zhuanlun Shengwang*) as the last regal figure on the left end of the relief.³⁰ Another functionary, the Officer of Rapid Recompense (*Subao siguan*) [fig. 18], is the final figure. He helps to record the rulings of the ten judges and keeps track of future rebirths for each individual.³¹ Aside from the two officers, who are clearly identified by their caps, only three of the ten figures vary in iconography: King Yama, the King of Transformations, and the King who Turns the Wheel [figs. 19, 20 and 21].

The King who Turns the Wheel is dressed in martial attire, and his name would appear to link him to previous military officials found in earlier Tantric texts.³²

²⁸ Differences occurring between the carvings at Baodingshan and the placement of the hymns within the scripture has been noted in the footnotes. Kyoko Tokuno [personal correspondence, May 1995] suggests such variation may be the result of artisans at Baodingshan referring to a slightly different, no longer extant, version of the scripture.

²⁹ The Officer of Immediate Retribution exists under the name *Si Lu*, "Officer of Records" in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, with this hymn being connected to Dushi Dawang, the King of the Capital.

³⁰ In Teiser's translation, p. 211, the Magnanimous King of Qin's hymn is related to King Yama's address to the Buddha in which he discusses the duties of the Ten Kings.

³¹ The Officer of Rapid Recompense goes by the name *Si Ming*, "Officer of Life Spans" in *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*. His is the last hymn read in the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, it is not connected to any one personage.

³² Teiser mentions the eighth century appearance of *Wudao jiangjun wang*, or the General King of the Five Paths, in his discussion of *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, p. 178. This is the only hymn among those inscribed in front of the ten kings at Baodingshan to actually hold a corresponding position within Teiser's translation of the scripture.

Attending this last king is a standard-bearer, characteristic of the King who Turns the Wheel's soldier-of-fortune attendants. Like the first king, the Magnanimous King of Qin, whose job it is to start the dead on their journeys through the various hells, the King who Turns the Wheel does not control a particular environ of hell. His job is to appoint the souls to their respective paths of transmigration, based on the judgments of the previous courts. Aside from the jailers tormenting the damned, the King who Turns the Wheel is the only figure depicted with a militaristic aspect.

The fifth and sixth kings differ from the rest of the ten kings in that both are depicted in imperial garb, yet only King Yama crosses both continental and ideological boundaries.³³ He is the original father of the afterlife in the Vedic tradition. In China, King Yama came to be ruler of the underworld in both Buddhist and Daoist cosmologies. No longer a revered god in his country of origin, Yama was quickly adopted by the Chinese, and just as quickly sinicized. The name "King Yama" came to be synonymous with any of the Ten Kings, the term often being used plurally, as in the "ten Yamas."³⁴

Yama is always represented in imperial attire, with a dark face to symbolize his non-Han Chinese origins. He is further differentiated from the other kings by his title, "Son of Heaven" [*Tianzi*], as opposed to "Great King" [*Dawang*]. At Baodingshan, King Yama is placed immediately to Dizang Bodhisattva's left. Although this is one possible placement in scriptural illustrations, he is not always honored in such a fashion.

It is not clear as to why the sixth king, the King of Transformations, is attired in imperial garb, except perhaps in response to aesthetic demands for symmetry in the Baodingshan work. The more appropriate sovereign to enjoy such treatment would be the King of Mt. Tai (*Taishan Dawang*), as he was already ranked highly within the Daoist pantheon. In literary sources, the damned are beaten and placed in cages under the King of Transformation's jurisdiction, similar to what occurs in the depictions of the damned in the sculpted relief below him.³⁵

The six remaining kings vary little iconographically. Their discussion here will center on textual versus representational differences, and will proceed systematically from right to left as one would progress through their respective courts.

As King of the First River of Hell (*Chujiang Dawang*) [fig. 22], this king plays a vital iconographic role.³⁶ In handscroll and hanging depictions of this hell, the "River Nai" or River of No Recourse is a prominent theme [fig. 23]. It is this river that separates the damned from their fate, and, therefore, it is unusual that there is no representation of the river among the hells at Baodingshan. Given the clever channeling of runoff water seen in other parts of the grotto, such as the relief depicting the young Buddha Shakyamuni being bathed by a water-spouting dragon, such a depiction would seem to have been possible.³⁷ Other images popular to hell iconography are also absent at

³³ Their imperial regalia dates back to the late Qin – early Han dynasties.

³⁴ *Dazu Grottoes*, p. 8.

³⁵ Regarding the jurisdiction of the various hells, I have tried to present variations in placement of the hells as they occur, based mainly on the works done by DeVisser and Teiser.

³⁶ In the Teiser translation, the King of the First River's hymn is part of a continuing interchange between King Yama and the Buddha.

³⁷ Yang, pl. 23.

Baodingshan, most notably the black horseman, messenger to the kings, who is accorded a verse in the scripture itself.

The third hell is ruled over by the Sovereign King of Song (*Songdi Dawang*) [fig. 24]. It is in this hell that those who have been found guilty by the Magnanimous King of Qin are sent to be scalded and roasted by hot water and flame.³⁸ This corresponds well with the Boiling Cauldron Hell [fig. 25] carved directly below. The idea of karmic retribution is further reinforced by the text of the hymn, which refers to “killing living beings in order to sacrifice to the gods.”

The head of the fourth court, the King of the Five Offices (*Wuguan Dawang*) [fig. 26], is textually linked to the hell in which the guilty have their hearts torn out and their bellies cut open.³⁹ At Baodingshan, this king appears to watch over the damned in the Freezing Hell [fig. 27], the Balance of Karmic Deeds separating the two. The suggestion of karmic retribution as described above, however, is reflected in the inscribed hymn, which refers quite pointedly to those who kill animals. The hymn also places the Mirror of Karmic Deeds in this court, which makes the presence of the Balance of Karmic Deeds questionable here. Illustrated scriptures often place the mirror in King Yama’s court, while later printed works show the mirror in the first court.

Moving to the left side of the hell tableau and continuing with a description of the remaining three kings, one first encounters the King of Mt. Tai [fig. 28], a Daoist entity who was quickly absorbed into the Buddhist pantheon.⁴⁰ Theories vary as to what effect Daoism did or did not have on the formulation of the Ten Kings. Some scholars state unequivocally that the Daoists were responsible for the final number of kings standing at ten, having added one judge to their already extant cosmology of nine, while others maintain that the Daoists only later appropriated the set of kings in order to popularize their own set of deities.⁴¹

The eighth hell, office of the Impartial King (*Pingzheng Dawang*) [fig. 29], is where the souls are weighed, their good and bad deeds influencing the suffering they must further undergo.⁴² Unfortunately, the placement of the karmic balance, which in theory should accompany the Impartial King, has been switched with the karmic mirror at Baodingshan. It is not clear whether this was an oversight in planning the work or a

³⁸ DeVisser, p. 31. As with the hymn attached to the King of the First River, the Sovereign King of Song’s hymn is part of an ongoing exchange between King Yama and the Buddha.

³⁹ DeVisser, p. 31. In Teiser’s translation, the King of the Five Offices’ hymn is part of a monologue given by the Buddha regarding the roles of the Ten Kings and how individuals come to be sent to them. It is preceded by a discussion specific to King Yama.

⁴⁰ The King of Mt. Tai’s hymn is the second to last hymn in the scripture; it appears after the final invocation of the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*.

⁴¹ Henri Maspero, “The Mythology of Modern China,” in *Asiatic Mythology*, ed. J. Hackin, (New York: Thomas J. Crowell, 1932), p. 364, and Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, p. 29. The King of Mt. Tai was later re-absorbed into Daoist cosmology in his new capacity of “Bodhisattva Emperor of the Eastern Peak.”

⁴² He is also known under the title Pingdeng Wang. Teiser points out that Tang dynasty Tantric texts portray the Impartial King as another manifestation of Dizang Bodhisattva; see *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, p. 177. His hymn appears as the second hymn in Teiser’s translation. It is related to King Yama, but moreso to the gathering together of the myriad beings to hear the Buddha preach the *Scripture on the Ten Kings*.

misinterpretation of the scripture. Either or both are possible.

The last of the six to be discussed here is the King of the Capital (*Dushi Dawang*) [fig. 30].⁴³ Like the King of Mt. Tai, he would appear to have direct connections to indigenous gods and beliefs. As his name implies, the King of the Capital may simply be a further extension of the City God. It is the City God, along with the God of Moats, who is responsible for bringing dead souls to justice in popular Chinese mythology.⁴⁴ The formulation of such a deity may have come in direct response to these popularly held beliefs. Pelliot posits that his true title is "King of the Market of the Capital," the market area being the natural place for a prison, as it was there that public executions took place.⁴⁵ This correlation may be seen as bridging the gap between the earthly and afterlife existences.

The Eighteen Hells Seen at Baodingshan⁴⁶

The third and fourth registers of Great Buddha Bend's hell tableau are comprised of sculpted reliefs of the eighteen hells as well as depictions of four admonitions. *Diyu* or "earth-prison" is the Chinese term for hell. As seen earlier within the discussion of the Ten Kings iconography, links to the real world were fundamental to hell imagery. The penal ideology of the day considered a combination of rewards and punishments as an effective means of changing behavior. Such was the case with Buddhist ideology as well; an individual was not damned for all eternity, but upon repaying his karmic mistakes, could hope to be freed into a new existence, capable of starting anew. One did not pass from a state of guilt to one of innocence without paying a price, however, and Song methods of torture employed by earthly jailers were far harsher in practice than they were on paper.⁴⁷ Similarly, depictions of hell far exceeded literary descriptions of hell in both their variety and their detail. von Gabain notes that, "Anxiety for the dead might have stimulated the fancy to more than the text contained."⁴⁸

The hells at Baodingshan number eighteen in all, and they do not appear to follow any one specific text. More interestingly, although the hell tableau is regarded as a representation based on the Scripture on the Ten Kings, no hells are actually described in that work, the majority of the text being devoted to the Ten Kings and their worship. Consistent with the notion of worship, references to hell found in extant portions of the Scripture on the Ten Kings focus on how *not* to enter hell, or what one has done to

⁴³ According to Teiser, the King of the Capital's hymn makes up part of the final remarks of King Yama on the celebration of the ten feasts for the ten kings.

⁴⁴ Maspero, p. 373.

⁴⁵ Paul Pelliot, "Bibliographie," in *T'oung Pao* 28 (1932), p. 389.

⁴⁶ For an overall picture of the placement of the eighteen hells within the Baodingshan work, see figure six. Translations of the extant inscriptions can be found in Appendix A, under 'Mid-Level Inscriptions' and 'Lower-Level Inscriptions'.

⁴⁷ Brian E. McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China* (Cambridge, England and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 330.

⁴⁸ Von Gabain, p. 26.

arrive there.⁴⁹ Such anomalies were not unusual, with the majority of hell works maintaining common themes while varying considerably in detail. How the hells were iconographically depicted, then, was largely subject to individual discretion. Both earlier and later works can be found which are consistent in their usage of the Ten Kings and their courts, but with differences in the tortures shown. One explanation for such discrepancies may be the changing realities of punishment and torture seen at differing places and times within China.

During the Song dynasty, two factors remained constant throughout China. The first was that the military was increasingly being used within the penal system. Not only was the military involved in executions and punishment, but by the late eleventh century, soldiers known as “unpaid volunteers” made their living by forcing inmates to pay them for either leniency or freedom.⁵⁰ Some Song prisoners were deliberately killed by their jailers in exchange for bribes given them by those who wished the incarcerated dead. The sculpted jailers at Baodingshan are quite clearly meant to represent military figures [fig. 31 and 32]; they wear cuirasses, boots, and occasionally helmets.

Yet another element in this equation is the fact that many of the soldiers were themselves convicts, forced into conscription as part of their sentence. The Baodingshan figures are grotesque, which may or may not fit into then perceived notions of jailers, but as convicts, they themselves were likely to be scarred or mutilated in some way.⁵¹ This idea of convicts serving as jailers mirrors the Buddhist notion that those who punish in hell are also being punished, the jailers being themselves among the jailed.

The second constant of the Song code was that no leniency was shown to the convicted; Emperor Gaozong himself is quoted as observing that the intent of the law should reflect an eye-for-an-eye philosophy: those who kill should be killed, those who injure should themselves be injured.⁵² Buddhism’s tortures would seem to have a similar underlying theme, one example being that of the Tongue-Extraction Hell [fig. 33], where individuals who speak ill of others have their tongues pulled out.

⁴⁹ Some of the hells are similar to those described in *Journey to the West*, translated by W.J.F. Jenner, vol. 3 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1986), pp. 202–206. Some similarities can also be seen in the hells described in the *Mahavastu*, translated by J. Jones, Sacred Books of the Buddhists Series, vol. 16 (London and Boston: R & K Paul for the Pali Text Society, nd), pp. 13–21. For a general listing of the descriptions of hell to be found in the Pali canon, see Bimala Charan Law’s *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective* (Varanasi: Bhartiya Publishing, 1973), pp. 94–111. For a discussion of hell specific to the Yogacara school of Buddhism, see Daigan and Alicia Matsunaga, *The Buddhist Concept of Hell* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1972), pp. 60–72. See also *Dunhuang baozang*, Huang Yongwu ed., vol. 109 (Taipei: Xinwen feng chubanshe, 1981–1986), pp. 432b–434a.

⁵⁰ McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, pp. 71–72 and 375.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 396. Of course, Ox-head and Horseface cannot be explained as such, but clear evidence as to their origins is lacking. Teiser, *Scripture on the Ten Kings*, p. 212, states that they are “commonly depicted as guards in the underworld in Indian and Chinese sources,” but does not note precisely which texts describe them. They would appear to have been a part of Chinese lore prior to the rise in popularity of hell, and are connected to both Daoist and Buddhist pantheons. The depictions of Ox-head and Horseface at Baodingshan are interesting in that, given the fact that the artisans could easily mimic real-life animals in stone, as seen in the Taming of the Water Buffalo relief, Ox-head and Horseface remain caricatures of animals. Their cartoon-like appearance may further substantiate the argument that the artisans were working from popular imagery such as illustrated handscrolls.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

Other tortures, while not directly related to Song penal practices, could still be seen as evocative of their methods. Swordtree Hell [fig. 34], Sword Mountain Hell, and the Hell of Being Sawed into Pieces [fig. 35] can all be linked to Song practices of mutilation and death by slicing. Mutilation existed as a punishment in China as far back as the Qin, when common practices included the cutting off of the nose or the amputation of feet and hands, comparable to the Hell of Being Cut in Two at the Knees [fig. 36].⁵³ Death by slicing, while an irregular punishment, was nonetheless condoned with regard to violent criminals, in order to serve as a warning to all evildoers [fig. 37].⁵⁴ Similar practices included beheading and being cut in two at the waist.

Another common form of corporal punishment can be seen represented within the Hell of Poisonous Snakes [fig. 38], the Hell of Darkness [fig. 39] and the Feces and Filth Hell [fig. 40]. This is the use of clubs to inflict harm upon the damned. Such a practice was entirely too common in Song China, with various-sized rods being used to mete out the appropriate punishment.⁵⁵ As seen in the Halberd Hell [fig. 41], spears were also used by Song authorities.⁵⁶

Perhaps the most visible form of punishment in Song China was the use of the cangue [fig. 42]. Cangues were used to transport criminals, to torture innocent individuals in order to gain information, and to publicly humiliate the incarcerated. Although size, weight, and construction were explicit in the penal code, officials often were accused of using injurious cangues, such as the "four-layer cangue" in which wrought iron and uncured rawhide were attached to raw wood, the resulting effect one of shrinking and squeezing as the rawhide dried.⁵⁷ Combined with the use of the cangue as a prominent torture method was the stripping of the individual. As Chinese custom at the time called for entire coverage of the body with the exception of hands and face, only individuals who were being humiliated would be subjected to forced public nakedness.⁵⁸ At Baodingshan, nakedness is the primary form of depiction for the damned, adding an extra dimension to the horrors expressed there for the Song dynasty pilgrim [fig. 43].

Not only are eighteen hells depicted at Baodingshan, but an additional four admonitions are also included. These include the Admonition against Alcohol together with the Admonition against Selling Alcohol [fig. 44], the Admonition against Raising Animals [fig. 45] and the Admonition against Speaking Falsehoods.⁵⁹ These have all

⁵³ Ibid., p. 331. McKnight gives evidence for the punishment of cutting off limbs dating as far back as the Shang dynasty, with oracle bone script depicting one man with one leg shorter than the other, and a saw placed next to the shorter leg.

⁵⁴ Brian E. McKnight, "Sung justice : death by slicing," *American Oriental Society* 93 (1973), p. 359.

⁵⁵ McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, p. 82. Size was combined with number of blows under what was traditionally called the 'Five Punishments' [*wuxing*].

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 183.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 345–6.

⁵⁸ Gabain, pp. 30–1.

⁵⁹ Although the engraved texts corresponding to these four are all formatted in conventional Buddhist liturgical style, I have not as yet been able to ascertain if they belong to specific scriptures, are scriptures in and of themselves, or whether they are apocryphal works specific to the region, perhaps based on extant scriptures. Legible remains of the four texts have been translated in Appendix A.

been prominently positioned in the lowest register of the hell tableau, at eye-level with the viewer. Since the statues are carved clad in contemporary Song attire and realistically painted, these vignettes must have served as highly effective deterrents to impious behaviour. The inscription related to speaking falsehoods is particularly vivid in its description of the pains that await those who indulge in such activity :

“In the dark regions, there was one hungry ghost on whose repulsive body appeared fire. Maggots came out of his mouth; pus, and blood throughout his [xxx], and his foul breath reached penetratingly everywhere. From his limbs and joints, arose fire...Honor goodness with careful speech. Those who mistake their speech endure the hungry ghost body.”

Issues of Text and Image

To complete my discussion of the hell tableau at Great Buddha Bend and its possible uses, I will turn to another medium, the illustrated handscroll. One of the most common features of medieval and later medieval vernacular narrative was the use of illustrated handscrolls as a popular form of entertainment. Among these handscrolls, modified versions of sutras known as transformation texts, or *bianwen*, were specifically designed to propagate the religion to the uneducated.⁶⁰ One of the most popular subjects for presentation were transformation texts showing Mulian going to the underworld to rescue his mother, with detailed illustrations of hell's physical appearance and bureaucratic structure.⁶¹ Numerous illustrated copies of this text were found in the cache of manuscripts at Dunhuang, with copies now scattered among the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and Beijing.⁶²

Transformation texts composed mainly of illustrations were known as transformation tableaux or *bianxiang*. Transformation tableaux existed in a variety of media, including paper, silk, and wall-paintings. *Bianxiang* could also refer to sculpted works.⁶³ Both *bianwen* and *bianxiang* were considered to be essential for spreading the Buddha's message, and both appear to date to the late Tang and Five Dynasties period.⁶⁴ The

⁶⁰ Chen, pp. 251–2. For two different approaches to the intricacies of the term *bian*, see Mair's *T'ang Transformation Texts*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph series, no. 28 (Cambridge and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 37–49, and Wu's article "What is Bianxiang?" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 52, no. 1 (June 1992), pp. 133–134.

⁶¹ Chen, pp. 25–6. Mair states unequivocally that, "Of all the Dunhuang popular literary texts, none more clearly qualifies as a *bianwen* than that relating Mahamaudgalyayana's rescue of his mother from the dark regions. This is a text for which there exist multiple related copies, most of which include titles specifying the work as a *bianwen*." Mair, *T'ang Transformation Texts*, p. 14.

⁶² Ibid, p. 26. Mair, *Transformation Texts*, pp. 100–102, also refers to *bianwen* with text on the backside as well as manuscripts where text alternates with blank spaces, presumably left open for the inclusion of images.

⁶³ Victor Mair, "Records of Transformation Tableaux," *T'oung Pao* 72.1–3 (1986), p. 3.

⁶⁴ Mair, *Painting and Performance*, p. 1.

transformation texts and tableaux may be seen to derive from a heritage of oral transmission, with the emphasis originally placed on the pictures and less on the accompanying text. Evidence for public presentations of transformation texts, taking place specifically in Sichuan province, occur as far back as the eighth century.⁶⁵

References to hell, and particularly the Buddha's disciple Mulian and his descent into hell, figure prominently in transformation tableaux and transformation texts. These are perhaps due to an earlier Indian work, the *Divyavadana*, where Mulian, in his capacity as magician, conjures up images with which he instructs the populace; however, a later Buddhist source from which the Mulian transformation works are thought to have been derived, the *Scripture on Offering Bowls to Repay Kindness*, is considered by some scholars to be apocryphal.⁶⁶ One of the earliest Chinese writings on the subject of Mulian can be found in the *Notes on the Origins of Events and Things*, written in the eleventh century, which states that during the late summer Ghost Festival "painted representations of Maudgalyayana saving his mother are displayed."⁶⁷

Earlier references to theatrical productions which were based on the Mulian theme date from the Tang dynasty.⁶⁸ Mulian also figured prominently in the *Ullambana Scripture*, a work largely devoted to ancestral worship and which played a pivotal role in oral performances employed during the medieval Ghost Festival.⁶⁹ This scripture was extremely popular among elite and villager alike, and was the basis for temple lectures in which the monks expounded the merits of filial piety to lay devotees.⁷⁰ Like the *Scripture on the Ten Kings* and most writings dealing with more sinicized subjects, the *Ullambana Scripture* was also excluded from the orthodox Chinese Buddhist canon.

Apart from the Mulian works, the Ten Kings constituted a large part of the oral performance tradition, appearing either individually or together. Images of the Ten Kings found broad usage, from services involving the ten memorial post-mortem feastdays to any of the widely encouraged pre-mortem services.⁷¹ As statues, the carvings of the kings at Great Buddha Bend grotto were fit to receive offerings, and probably were not used as meditation devices. Documentation found in the Dunhuang texts supports the notion that monks engaged in memorial services involving the Ten Kings.⁷²

⁶⁵ Mair, *Transformation Texts*, p. 216.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64 and Teiser, *Ghost Festival*, p. 48.

⁶⁷ Mair, *Transformation Texts*, p. 12. Mair posits that these representations were derived from transformation tableaux.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13. Mulian's popularity as a subject for live entertainment did not diminish with time. See Berthold Laufer, *Oriental Theatricals* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1923).

⁶⁹ *Yulan pen jing*. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival*, p. 6. Teiser, p. 107, claims a Tantric precedence for the Ghost Festival, offering the *Scripture of Dharanis for Saving Hungry Ghosts with Burning Mouths* [*Jiuba yankou egui tuoleni jing*] as a possible precursor.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10–41.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

All of the above evidence would seem to support a theory that, by the late medieval period, depictions of the complex judicial topography of hell would not only be desirable, but actually necessary. Given the long popularity of ceremonies specific to the well-being of the deceased, the Buddhist clergy either had to accommodate those needs, or allow themselves to be usurped by interlopers in the form of popular entertainers or Daoist priests.

Returning to transformation texts and tableaux, Wu Hung argues that *bianxiang* paintings should not be considered as related to *bianwen* for two reasons: first, because works titled *bianxiang* are narrative neither in content nor format, and, secondly, because those *bianxiang* works found at Buddhist cave sites were not produced for moral edification, being too incoherent to serve this purpose.⁷³ He postulates that the transformation tableaux of the caves at Dunhuang were primarily the result of meritorious acts, their educational efficacy muted by their placement far from the viewer and the darkness of the cave itself.⁷⁴ Wu's arguments are well-supported by his choice of evidence from Dunhuang, but the grotto at Baodingshan would seem to uphold the notion that the tableaux served a more didactic function.

Wu's discussion of *bianxiang* continues, "from the High Tang on, *bianxiang* were generally understood as a kind of two-dimensional, complex pictorial representation. Because they are two-dimensional, they are not sculptures,"⁷⁵ yet part of his evidence lies in a general overview of catalogs, in which the word *bianxiang* occurs most frequently as a description of temple murals and picture scrolls. I see the works in the Great Buddha Bend functioning as enhanced temple murals. This concept, when combined with the fact that only a few of the works done in the grotto can be classified as free-standing sculpture, allows for the usage of the term *bianxiang* with regard to the site.

The hell scenes at Great Buddha Bend are also commonly referred to as *bianxiang*,⁷⁶ and if one considers the hell tableau alone it is apparent that it is a pictorially-based work, one where the narrative is at least implied, if not strictly adhered to. The relief at Baodingshan is divided into a series of bands, top to bottom, much like stacked sections of a scroll. The kings appear in chronological order, right to left, similar to how one would envision them appearing in an illustrated handscroll, with or without text. The main hells follow suit, and, if there is a breakdown seen in the ordering of the lowest register, this is not necessarily to imply that there is no order, but simply that there was no room. Similar results can be seen in illustrated handscrolls where artisans were forced to make use of every available inch of space.

Wu further differentiates between narrative and iconic modes of representation, predating this division on the interaction of the viewer with the piece. Wu stipulates that narrative formats engage the worshipper as a viewer, not as a participant, which is

⁷³ Wu, pp. 116 and 130. I agree with Wu's earlier statement on page 115 in that it does not necessarily follow that all paintings falling under the rubric "*bianxiang*" are therefore illustrations of *bianwen*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133–4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁷⁶ Liu, p. 485.

the main function of iconic works.⁷⁷ Although he notes that some transformation tableaux exist in which the central icon is surrounded by narrative-style scenes, Wu also points out that these are largely out of sequence, and therefore cannot be viewed as narrative in the strict, linear sense of the word. The hell tableau at Great Buddha Bend would appear to represent a blending of these two types: Dizang Bodhisattva as central icon, to whom devotees can engage in direct worship, while below him the actions of the souls of the damned and their jailers remain to be witnessed from the outside. While not entirely ordered, a definite attempt has been made to depict the events sequentially.

I would not argue that the hell scenes were constructed solely for use in the edification of the laity; its surrounding space and lotus-shaped altar were obviously designed to accommodate a variety of types of worship by an equally diverse number of participants. Yet the presence of the highly-detailed inscribed hymns and descriptions does point to a more interactive style of worship. The two widely-practiced funerary rites centered on the *Ullambana Scripture* and the *Rites for Distributing Food to Burning Mouths from the Essentials of Yoga*.⁷⁸ The latter was a more strictly Esoteric ritual, and in as much as Baodingshan was promoted as an Esoteric center, the *Rites* probably served as the focal point for any large-scale masses. Both of these rituals dealt with the feeding of the hungry ghosts, a notion visually reinforced at Baodingshan by the placement of the Hungry Ghost Hell directly behind the tableau's free-standing altar [fig. 46]. Depicted in such a fashion, the starving soul appears to be receiving the offerings, and serves as a close and constant reminder of the fate that awaits those who do not follow the Buddha's precepts. Further evidence for rituals related to the Ghost Festival can be seen in the inscription placed immediately next to the statue of Zhao Zhifeng, which provides a gruesome description of the hungry ghosts' fate and refers directly to ways to protect oneself from such an end.⁷⁹

Unlike the earlier caves of Dunhuang which served as the focus for Wu Hung's analysis, those caves constructed in the Five Dynasties and Song periods, contemporaneous with the works at Baodingshan, also have longer inscriptions. Several factors could account for this: a rising literacy rate among the Chinese populace, or a final sinicization of Buddhism with greater emphasis being placed on the written word.⁸⁰ These longer inscriptions could feasibly have been read by either a literate pilgrim or a monk engaged in edifying lay devotees. The same holds true for the hell tableau at

⁷⁷ Wu, p. 130.

⁷⁸ Yujia jiyao yankou shishi yi. For a thorough overview of the evolution of the shishi rites, see Charles Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism and the Shishi in China," in *The Esoteric Buddhist Tradition, Seminar for Buddhist Studies Monograph series*, no. 2, ed. Henrik H. Sorensen (Copenhagen: Aarhus, 1994), p. 56. Julia K. Murray in "The Evolution of Buddhist Narrative Illustration in China after 850," in *The Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850*, ed. Marsha Weidner, (University of Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, 1994), p. 94, asserts that few Esoteric rituals survived after the persecution of the Tang dynasty, but of those that did "rituals that answered Chinese concerns for the well-being of the dead and for the prolongation of life eventually became a part of regular practice."

⁷⁹ This inscription is partially gone due to water damage, but what does remain has been translated in Appendix A, and is noted as letter "G" in the drawing of the hell tableaux.

⁸⁰ Murray, pp. 135–138, discusses these two possibilities at greater length.

Baodingshan. Being fully exposed to the outside world, there is no darkness to impede legibility. There are no inscriptions placed too high to be read, given that the site was probably painted even more brightly than today's restoration work allows for. Moreover, the closer to eye-level the carving, the more complete the inscribed texts become, implying that it was expected that a pilgrim or monk would at least attempt to read them.⁸¹

Aside from the heavy use of very visible inscriptions in the hell tableau, one other aspect of the work points to Buddhist propagation as a prominent focus. As mentioned earlier within the discussion of the central Dizang triad, the figure of Zhao Zhifeng is placed slightly higher than the level of the viewer. With hand held up as he gestures toward the inscribed sutras and sculpted carvings around him, this carved representation of Zhao furthers the notion of an oral performance [see fig. 13]. One can view the figure of Zhao as either a surrogate guide for those literate individuals who chose to contemplate the texts and carvings which surround him on their own, or as a type of mnemonic aid for those who were not literate, evoking memories of popular oral performances of the Mulian genre that they had seen elsewhere.

Conclusions

In concluding, I would like to draw together my discussions of the hell tableau and its placement within the bianxiang context in an effort to shed light on the singular design of Great Buddha Bend grotto and its possible function.

The most obvious difference between Great Buddha Bend and earlier large-scale Buddhist sites is the lack of caves, or even cave-like niches, in which the statues would normally be positioned. These niches focused the worshipper's attention on the icon or iconic grouping while also serving to set the statue apart from its surroundings. The caves which honeycombed the cliffs at sites such as Dunhuang and Yungang were a necessary part of the religious process. They were places where the pilgrim or worshipper entered into a "Buddha-world". There they continued to perform the rites of circumambulation or meditation on an icon.⁸²

There are only two caves in Great Buddha Bend grotto and one constructed facade.⁸³ Of the two caves, the larger, known as the Cave of Complete Enlightenment, does not have as its focal point a central pillar or icon for circumambulation, as is the

⁸¹ Teiser, "Growth of Purgatory," p. 127, argues that the placement of Baodingshan's scenes at eye-level implies an illiterate or semi-literate congregation. He obviously predicates this statement on the imagery, not taking into account the amount of text actually involved within each scene at the site. Given the combination of the two, I would argue that Zhao Zhifeng was attempting to reach both lettered and unlettered devotees.

⁸² Although many of these caves also included narrative scenes, I would have to agree with Wu's analysis that their use for educational purposes was minimal as they would have been extremely hard to see.

⁸³ This is the facade covering the 1000-Armed Goddess of Mercy, numbered eight. Although it is difficult to ascertain whether this fronting was part of the original plan, the statue was recessed similarly to the others at the site, if not more so. The other wooden construction at the grotto covers the relief of the Herdsmen Taming the Water Buffalo; its functionality lies in question as the statuary has suffered from intense weathering despite the covering.

case at most other earlier sites, but appears more as a shrine, with three Buddha figures on the south wall flanked on both sides by groupings of bodhisattvas with one bodhisattva figure presented prostrate before the Buddha triad, as if to serve as an example for the pilgrim to emulate [fig. 47]. It must be noted that this cave appears to be naturally-occurring, with some work having been done to standardize its shape.

The second cave at Great Buddha Bend is smaller and dedicated to the Buddha Vairocana. This cave was chiselled out of the rockface, but has since been shored up by bricks, and it follows the more standard format seen at earlier Chinese Buddhist sites. There is a pillar at the middle of the cave, upon which the Buddha sits. The interior space as well as the pillar are all intricately carved. What is noteworthy here is the fact that the pillar is not truly centered within the cave; rather, it is either attached to, or extremely close to, the back wall of the cave.⁸⁴ This would negate the possibility of circumambulation, the main purpose behind construction of a central pillar.

Baodingshan's distance from most major Chinese cave sites may be perceived as one possible explanation for such discrepancies in the grotto's site plan. This theory is not viable, however, when earlier sites within Sichuan are considered. Dazu county had an extensive history of Buddhist sculptural work prior to the conception of Baodingshan. Ample evidence for niches and chambers, which follow earlier Chinese traditional styles of site construction, can be seen at other sites within Dazu as well as at Baodingshan itself; the work done at Little Buddha Bend, work which predates the construction of Great Buddha Bend, shows a clear knowledge of pre-existing Chinese cave formats, with a hollowed-out niche and multiple carvings of the Buddha's image. The artisans at Great Buddha Bend can thus be seen as consciously moving away from known Chinese forms.

Unlike earlier sites, at Great Buddha Bend one does not enter into a sacred space in order to view the Buddha and his array of attendants. Nor is the pilgrim confronted with niches "excavated as closely as beehives."⁸⁵ Instead, he or she enjoys the company of the statues, many of which extend outward away from the rockface, as if to greet the viewer. There is a feeling of being watched over, an intimacy allowed by the proximity and size of the statuary. This feeling of closeness is further augmented by the incorporation of numerous images which the pilgrim could easily identify as common to daily life. Furthermore, the pathway which takes the pilgrim around the grotto is narrow, leaving little room for practical applications such as monks seated in meditation, or large groups of worshippers gathering for a ritual celebration, the exception being the area in front of the *Parinirvana* scene at the actual bend in the grotto.⁸⁶

The overall layout of the site at Great Buddha Bend may differ from earlier Chinese site precedents, but this difference disappears when the site is viewed as a sculptural representation based on a normally two-dimensional format, i.e. the illustrated handscroll. The popular appeal of handscrolls made them a source commonly known

⁸⁴ Visitors are not allowed access to this cave; therefore, I hesitate to say that the central pillar is attached to the back wall, as my observations were entirely frontal ones.

⁸⁵ Zhang, p. 12.

⁸⁶ The average width of the rest of the pathway is approximately ten to twelve feet.

to both craftsmen and clergy. As discussed earlier, the handscroll was a format popularized by the clergy as a transportable means by which they could reach a larger lay audience, while the development of the handscroll industry is considered by some scholars to have been based in Sichuan province.⁸⁷ Therefore, it is possible to theorize that the design of Great Buddha Bend grotto developed from handscroll prototypes, be they *bianwen* or *bianxiang*.

Zhao Zhifeng may have been responding to a need for edifying works to portray specific scenes from Buddhist sources. The populace preferred entertainment to education, and beginning as early as the Tang dynasty, the clergy sought to accommodate this fact. Documentation shows that on festival days, when spectators and worshippers were gathered on the monastery grounds, the monks themselves would stage dramatic performances for the populace's edification as well as enjoyment.⁸⁸ It has also been determined that, beginning in the Tang, *bianwen* and *bianxiang* came to be utilized by entertainers outside the Buddhist community.⁸⁹ Zhao Zhifeng's construction of a permanent, large-scale *bianwen/bianxiang* site may have been an attempt by the clergy to regain control of the oral performance tradition.

Time and distance had made the grotto system seen at earlier sites unnecessary. Education, not circumambulation, was the key to reaching the laity in the 12th century. India was far away, and Song dynasty China had a long-standing religious tradition based on various apocryphal scriptures. Their popular appeal made them vital portions of a site like Great Buddha Bend. The apocryphal Scripture on the Ten Kings, upon which the hell tableau is based, is not the only such work in the grotto. Another apocryphal Chinese scripture, the Scripture on the Kindness of Parents,⁹⁰ serves as the source for scene number fifteen. Both works are based heavily upon the Chinese concept of filial piety, and both can be found among the illustrated *bianwen* scrolls found at Dunhuang.⁹¹

Other non-Indic elements lace the entire site. A carved tiger figure guards the entrance to the monastic complex; a carved lion stands watch over the Cave of Complete Enlightenment. The gods of cloud, wind and thunder, along with the numerous representations of secular life scattered among the Buddhist stories, would have helped to place the worshipper firmly in China.

How was it that such disparate themes and so many controversial scenes came to be depicted in lieu of more customary, canonical works? Creating a site dependent more on private donations than official monies, Zhao Zhifeng was presumably allowed greater latitude in what he chose to include in the construction at Great Buddha

⁸⁷ Waikam Ho, Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art in cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1980), p. xxxi. According to Ho, Dashengci Monastery, home to the monk who wrote the apocryphal Scripture on the Ten Kings, was known nationwide as a center of Buddhist art and Buddhist propagation, handscrolls forming a large part of both.

⁸⁸ Chen, p. 272.

⁸⁹ Mair, Painting and Performance, p. 32.

⁹⁰ Bao fumu enzhong jing.

⁹¹ Mair, Transformation Texts, p. xvii.

Bend. The donors, most likely assembled from a broad spectrum of backgrounds, also had differing reasons and demands for works to be included at the grotto. Landed gentry and visiting pilgrims were looking for themes common to their daily life, themes centered on family and the life hereafter, while the monks and nuns sought meditative aids, or works that they may have felt were necessary for the edification of the populace. The grotto at Great Buddha Bend can then be seen as a work constructed under the direction of one man, but devoted to a myriad of concerns from a diverse congregation.

Lastly, the established construction dates of Baodingshan place it within a later transitional phase of China's history. The growth of a money-based economy along with increasing urbanization prompted changes throughout the empire, including the rise of a middle-class and a broadening incidence of literacy. If Buddhism was to survive these changes, it had to adapt to the changing needs of its practitioners. It is my contention that these transformations, absorptions, and adaptations can be seen in the work done at Baodingshan, resulting in definitive changes within what was once considered a borrowed ideology and a borrowed artform. These ideas and their artistic expression at Great Buddha Bend serve to denote redefined liturgical needs as they responded to the changes occurring in Chinese society as a whole.

APPENDIX A

INSCRIPTIONS FOUND ON RELIEF NUMBER TWENTY

Mid-Level Inscriptions

As there are so many inscriptions scattered among the hell scenes at Baodingshan, a chart of the various hells has been prepared [fig. 6]. For expediency, the inscriptions have been lettered where space did not allow placement of their respective names. Reference letters found in the chart will be noted in the footnote text accompanying the translation. Words in brackets have been added where the text was no longer extant, yet followed preset literary constructs; “[xxx]” indicates words that are no longer extant in the inscriptions and for which educated guesses were not really possible.

Sword Mountain Hell

If once a month one chants the name of the Brilliant Buddha 1,000 times,
one will not fall into the Sword Mountain Hell.

The hymn says:

Hearing tell of Sword Mountain yet unable to climb it,
the outlines of its rocky hills, lofty and precipitous,
causing sickness at heart.

By observing both a day of fast and industriously cultivating blessings,
one avoids suffering from the drag of evil karma on the path ahead.

Boiling Cauldron Hell

If daily one chants the name of the Buddha of Medicine 1,000 times,
one will not fall into Boiling Cauldron Hell.

The hymn says:

Exhort the ruler to industriously honor the Buddha of Medicine,
and escape from enduring the suffering of the boiling cauldron.

Fallen into the waves, wondering when one will get out,
early cultivation of the Pure Land helps to renounce perishing.

Freezing Hell

If daily one chants the names of the One Thousand Buddhas of the Present Kalpa 1,000 times, one will not fall into the Freezing Hell.

The hymn says:

Amidst the suffering, it is most freezing cold,
with eyes covered, naked and exposed to the gods.

Merely chant to the various Buddhas seeking merit,
and bad karma will be removed, thus one will be reborn.

Swordtree Hell

[If daily one chants the name of ____] 1,000 times,
one will not fall into Swordtree Hell.

The hymn says :

[xxx] within speak violently, [xxx] altogether by the swordtrees destroyed.
Receiving the penalty for one's own sins,
not acquiring [xxx] the opportunity [xxx] [xxx].

Tongue-Extraction Hell

If daily one chants the name of Tathagatha Buddha 1,000 times,
one will not fall into the Tongue-Extraction Hell.

The hymn says :

The hell of tongue-extraction is caused by sending the ox
out with the iron plow,
all types of grasping does not still it for even one moment.
If one desires to beseech King Yama to look into the matter personally,
keep chanting the name of Dizang 1,000 times.

Hell of Poisonous Snakes

If daily one chants the name of the Buddha of Mighty Power 1,000 times,
one will not fall into the Hell of Poisonous Snakes .

The hymn says :

Bodhisattvas of vast compassion and mercy,

save sufferers through constant instruction on how to
emerge from the river of desire.

The nine grades of being each have a share in the dew of the lotus,
what can cause one to be sent through the poisonous snakes?

Hell of Cutting and Grinding

If daily one chants the name of the Bodhisattva who Regards the World's Cries
1,000 times, one will not fall into the Hell of Cutting and Grinding.

The hymn says :

Chopping up the body, cutting and grinding, no time for repose;
all here performed evil deeds, not cultivating and maintaining good.

Avalokitesvara grieves for the suffering of all sentient beings,
revealing her mercy and compassion, she aids all to escape from hell.²

Hell of Being Sawed into Pieces

If daily one chants the name of Vairocana Buddha 1,000 times,
one will not fall into the Hell of Being Sawed into Pieces.

The hymn says :

The Tathagata's power is great, all perfect his knowledge,
which follows like a bright moon coming out among the myriad stars.

Chanting alone can do away with numerous sins;
only a sovereign presumes to saw into pieces without cause.

Hell of the Iron Bed

If daily one chants the names of the Bodhisattvas of Healing and Medicine
1,000 times, one will not fall into the Hell of the Iron Bed .

The hymn says :

The Bodhisattvas true names are those of "Healing Kings;"
and they can dissolve the flames of the iron bed.

Having mercy on those who created evil karma as heavy as a mountain,
by merely chanting their true names all living creatures can
avoid such calamities.

Hell of Darkness

If daily one chants the name of Sakyamuni Buddha 1,000 times,
one will not fall into the Hell of Darkness.

The hymn says :

Keeping the feastsdays, serving the Buddha, and reading the scriptures,
one accumulates virtue and controls the darkness of existence.

Repeatedly reciting the name of Amitabha 1,000 times,
naturally the darkness will manifest brightness.

Lower-Level Inscriptions

Admonition Against Alcohol^B

The Buddha of the Great Repository⁴ preached the "Brilliant Fresh" sutra:

At that time Buddha announced to Kasyapa, . . .
Those who drink alcohol do not know their own families.
Among those who drink, fathers do not recognize their sons,
and sons do not recognize their fathers.
Elder brothers do not recognize younger brothers,
and younger brothers do not recognize elder brothers.
Husbands do not recognize their wives,
and wives do not recognize their husbands.
Elder sisters do not recognize younger sisters,
and younger sisters do not recognize elder sisters.
Good men and children then respect all
sentient beings, and do not eat meat or drink alcohol.
In this way, they achieve a Buddha heart.

The Alcohol Sellers

The sutras of the Great Repository say:

At that time, the World-honored One informed all Buddhist monks,
"If you receive the Five Precepts and the 250 Rules of Conduct,
then the rules of proper deportment are complete if you comply with not

drinking alcohol, and do not violate the 250 Commandments
with regard to right conduct.
If you transgress, you will accordingly enter hell."

Kasyapa addressed the Buddha saying,

"No alcohol throughout life? Tathagatha, for what reason do the
precepts equate alcohol with suffering?"

The Buddha replied to Kasyapa,
"You like to examine what you hear!

In the kingdom of Sravasti, there was Angulimala;⁵
his action of drinking alcohol caused stupidity and confusion,
causing this son to violate his own mother and to kill his own father.

The mother accordingly took a lover, carrying a knife to do harm to others.

This is the reason why today the precepts say alcohol causes suffering.

A person such as the girl who buys and sells alcohol,⁶ will die and fall into hell,
there enduring her final dharma form –

a body three feet high,
two ears blocked shut,
a face without two eyes,
likewise without nostrils,
underneath the lips, a gaping mouth,
hands without ten fingers,
legs without two feet –
entirely because of buying and selling alcohol.

In addition to people who drink, those who press alcohol on a monk,
will fall into the Hell of Being Cut in Two at the Knees."

Hell of Being Cut in Two at the Knees⁷

Not believing in the Buddha's words, the ruler repents without benefit.
The three actions are not keeping the feastdays combined with
violating the precepts; the four actions are the five deadly sins
toward father and mother.

Avici Hell – Mountain Enclosed by Iron

A scripture in the Great Repository states:

The Buddha told Kasyapa,
“If a mendicant here puts on my dharma robe,
first, he must abstain from drinking alcohol;
second, abstain from eating meat;
third, abstain from envying the good at heart;
and fourth, abstain from engaging in ignoble or impure deeds.
Those who eat meat fall into Avici Hell . . .”

Hungry Ghost Hell

A scripture in the Great Repository states:

Kasyapa Bodhisattva then addressed the Buddha saying:
“Those who do not honor the days of fast fall into which hell?”

The Buddha informed Kasyapa,
“Those who do not honor the days of fast fall into Hungry Ghost hell. . .”⁸

Knife Boat Hell

Receiving the penalty for one’s own sins, no heaven is given them.

Admonition Against Raising Animals

A scripture in the Great Repository states: The Buddha told Kasyapa,
“All sentient beings who raise chickens, enter into hell . . .”

*Inscriptions Flanking the Pagoda*¹⁰

Heaven’s halls are vast and broad, yet hell is also vast;
not believing in the Buddha’s word, then how the heart suffers!

To resist the Way is to seek suffering amidst joy;
all living creatures born amidst happiness seek suffering.

The Buddha of the Great Repository expounded the “Brilliant Fresh” Scripture:

"If one is sent to the hell of the hot iron wheel to proceed up
and down the mountainside,
throughout this suffering, he will never lose the great Bodhi."

Admonition against Speaking Falsehoods¹¹

[In the Great] Repository, the Buddha spoke of protecting one's "mouth," saying,

"In the dark regions, there was one hungry ghost on whose
repulsive body appeared fire. Maggots came out of his mouth, pus,
and blood throughout his [xxx], and his foul breath reached
penetratingly everywhere. From his limbs and joints, arose fire. [xxx]
[xxx] crying.

Yama asked the ghost,
"Do you know what sinful act [you have committed] in the past
to endure such suffering today?"

The ghost replied, "I was fond of [xxx] [xxx]. [xxx] born [xxx]."

To grow old not to die, having constructed immeasurable evil. . .¹²
His tongue which from kalpa to kalpa was evil, now endures
unspeakable suffering.

Be good on account of my form, [I] admonish all sentient beings.
Honor goodness with careful speech. Those who mistake their
speech endure the hungry ghost body. [xxx] [xxx] return to enter into hell.
To lie [xxx] to speak falsehoods is evil. Goodness is rewarded
with good; evil is rewarded with evil. [xxx] [xxx]"

Iron Wheel Hell

The Buddha of the Great Repository said,
"[xxx] eat [xxx] eat or [xxx] eat medicine for father and mother [xxx]. . .
Stop friends, wife, children, and family,
while not yet separate from the world, from falling into Iron Wheel Hell.
There the armpit on the right side [xxx],
[xxx] copper is poured [xxx], suffer for eating during
the days of fast [xxx], likewise it is thus.
People who do not believe in hell, death, and rebirth,
wait for the ruler to order their return."

The Buddha of the Great Repository informed Kasyapa,
“People who seize upon others fall into Iron Wheel Hell;
those who boil meat fall into Boiling Cauldron Hell.
In the middle there is water, below there is fire,
they wait for the fire to burn out,
rushing to and fro yet still burning.

People who boil meat enter into [Boiling Cauldron] Hell, there
enduring their own great suffering;
people who broil meat fall into the Hell of the Iron Bed.

People who cut and chop meat fall into the Hell of Cutting and Grinding.

People who kill living creatures fall into Halberd Hell;
consequently to expound the dharma is to explain it to all living creatures.”

Boiling Cauldron Hell

The Buddha of the Great Repository spoke,

“[xxx] [xxx] [xxx] [xxx] create bad karma,
the Buddha is all compassionate.

The body which falls into the Three Paths meets with pain and
suffering;
those who believe in one thought bring together ones’ own knowledge.”

Halberd Hell³

Hell of Feces and Filth

A scripture in the Great Repository states:
Kasyapa asked the Buddha,

“Those who eat meat fall into which hell?”

The Buddha informed Kasyapa,
“Those who eat meat fall into the Hell of Feces and Filth
There among feces and filth 10,000 ‘feet’ deep . . .”

Mother and Father Feeding Child¹

The Buddha told Kasyapa,
 “[xxx] if a person has come to the end of 80 years,
 poor and poverty-stricken, forlorn, and the ruler has born one son,
 with the utmost pity and compassion,

 one hand gripping gold, one hand gripping food,
 both around the entire [xxx],
 knowing to pass it on to his ignorant infant son,
 who does not recognize his own gold, but grasps his own meal.

For all sentient beings, even rulers, it is so;
 I wish that all living creatures be just as kind as that father.

All sentient beings must but know to give up the body,
 making obeisance and reverently practicing the Way of the Buddha.”

¹ I here give a translation of the name given, *Dingguangfo*, as I have found no appropriate Sanskrit equivalent.

² The format of this, and many of the hymns to follow, mirrors those described by Soyumié in *Les dix jours de jeûne de Kstigarbha*, 137.

³ Large portions of this hymn are missing due to what appears to be a shifting of the earth, possibly an earthquake. Whatever happened caused the destruction of most of the Swordtrees Hell, which is now blocked up, probably to provide additional support for the level above it.

⁴ In Liu, *Dazu shike yan jiu*, 487, it is noted that, on the pestle being used to grind the poor souls, the phrase “Thus the Buddha of the Great Repository spoke” is inscribed. From photos, it would appear that a two-line inscription runs the length of the pestle, along with words being engraved on the pestle’s crossbar. Time has not allowed for further work on this area. It must be noted that the transcriptions provided by the compilers of the *Dazu shike yan jiu*, while helpful, are not entirely accurate nor are they complete. Care should be taken when using this text as a source as numerous discrepancies and omissions occur.

⁵ I have chosen to refer to Avalokitesvara in the feminine here, as this deity appears mainly in female form at the sites within Dazu county.

⁶ *Bhaisajyasamudgata* and *Bhaisajya-raja*. Soothill, 472.

⁷ Images here include that of the father not recognizing his son, the husband not recognizing his wife, the older brother failing to recognize his younger brother, and the older sister not knowing her younger sister. Unlike the accompanying works, this section of the tableau, along with the Alcohol Sellers, the Admonition against Raising Animals, and the Admonition against Speaking Falsehoods, is not given the title of “hell”.

⁸ Kyoko Tokuno, written suggestion, March 1995. The term here is *dazang* which can be either translated as “Tripitaka,” which is used primarily in reference to Hinayana Pali canon, or as “Great Repository.” I have chosen to use “Great Repository” as it has a less specific meaning.

⁹ The text breaks here as a large portion of the actual inscription has been broken away.

¹⁰ Chizen Akanuma, *Indo Bukkyo koyu meishi jiten* (1931, n.p.), 39-41. Much like the Christian saint Paul, Angulimala was a murderer who eventually converted to Buddhism.

¹¹ This girl is specified by name in the inscriptions, but does not appear to be linked to any one Buddhist personage.

¹² The inscriptions for this hell are actually split between a small stele placed behind the demon wielding the sword and the cangue worn by the prisoner to his right. They are notated as letters “A” and “B” on the diagram.

¹³ The inscription continues with a physical description of Avici Hell. This apparently was not transcribed in Liu, *Dazu shike yan jiu*, by those doing the work at Baodingshan.

¹⁴ This inscription also continues but was not entirely transcribed in Liu, *Dazu shike yan jiu*, and is not legible in photographs.

- ¹⁵ The inscription for this scene can be found on a small stele placed above the souls in the boat. It is letter "C" in the diagram.
- ¹⁶ This inscription continues but was not transcribed in Liu, Dazu shike yan jiu, in its entirety. It is not clear from photographs due to discoloration of the stone.
- ¹⁷ These inscriptions are letters "D" and "E" in the diagram.
- ¹⁸ This inscription is letter "F" in the diagram.
- ¹⁹ The title of this inscription is for the most part eroded. I have chosen to refer to it as an admonition rather than a hell as it seems more appropriate given the subject matter. Although prominently placed at the right-hand of the Zhao Zhifeng statue, this inscription is not transcribed in Liu's Dazu shike yan jiu. This inscription is letter "G" in the diagram.
- ²⁰ The only readable character here is luo, which I take to refer to Yanluo, or King Yama.
- ²¹ These two lines suffer from serious water damage and are no longer legible.
- ²² Large portions of this inscription are no longer legible due to weathering. I present what has been transcribed in Liu, Dazu shike yan jiu.
- ²³ No inscription is given with this hell.
- ²⁴ The rest of this inscription was not transcribed in Liu, Dazu shike yan jiu, and was not legible from photos due to growth of moss and lichens on the substrate.
- ²⁵ This last portion titled does not seem to have any real connection to the hell scenes, other than to have the text carved next to that of the Hell of Feces and Filth. This could have been done for purposes of expediency, or for lack of a better flat surface. My impression is that this relief is a vignette unto itself, not necessarily combined with either of the two flanking sculptural works.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF SCULPTURAL GROUPINGS FOUND AT GREAT BUDDHA BEND GROTTO

This list follows the numbering system put in place by the archaeologist Yang Jialuo in the late 1940s. The sculpted tableaux are thus numbered one through thirty-one. Although I do not feel that it represents the most logical system, I nonetheless have chosen to adhere to it, so as not to confuse the reader who may wish to look at primary source materials.

- 1) Carving of a fierce tiger
- 2) Guardians of the Law
- 3) Revolving Wheel of the Six Paths
- 4) Pavilion of Great Treasure¹
- 5) Three Saints of the Avatamsaka School
- 6) Precious Holy Relic Pavilion
- 7) Engraved stele dedicated to Vairocana
- 8) 1,000-armed Avalokitesvara
- 9) Holy Relic Pagoda
- 10) Final Gathering of Men and Devas
- 11) Parinirvana of Sakyamuni Buddha
- 12) Birth of the Buddha
- 13) Peacock King
- 14) Cave of Vairocana
- 15) Depictions from the Scripture on the Kindness of Parents
- 16) Gods of Cloud, Wind, and Thunder
- 17) Depictions of the Scripture on Mahopaya Buddha's Requit of Kindness
- 18) Depictions from the Amitayus-dhyana Scripture
- 19) Six Rats
- 20) Dizang Bodhisattva with the Ten Kings of Hell and depictions of hell.
- 21) Asceticism of Master Liu
- 22) Ten Radiant Kings
- 23) Shrine to the Three Pure Ones
- 24) Shrine of the Taoist Sages
- 25) Shrine to the Jade Emperor and the Earth Goddess
- 26) Series of engraved steles
- 27) Statue of Vairocana Buddha
- 28) Carving of a lion
- 29) Cave of Complete Enlightenment
- 30) Taming the Water Buffalo
- 31) Statue of the Old Woman "Su Die"

¹ The name "Baodingshan" is inscribed here, along with three sculptural representations of Zhao Zhifeng, the site's founder.

APPENDIX C

GLOSSARY OF SELECTED CHINESE NAMES AND TERMS

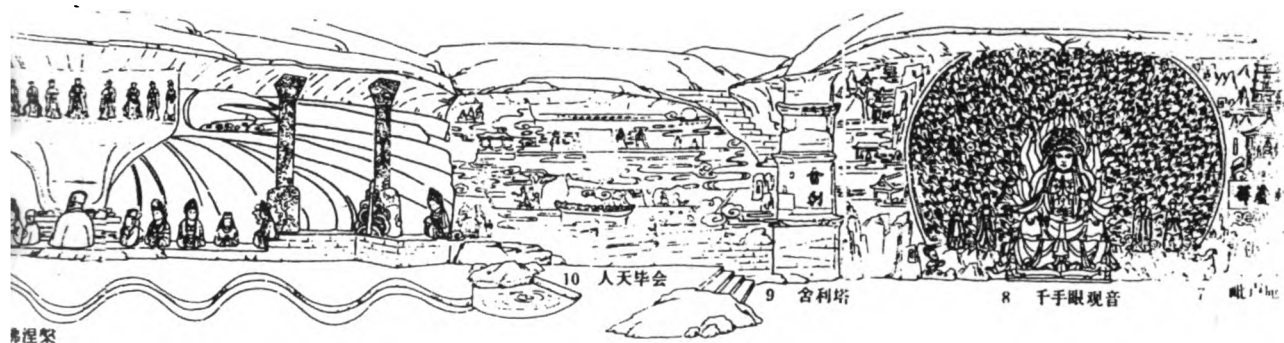
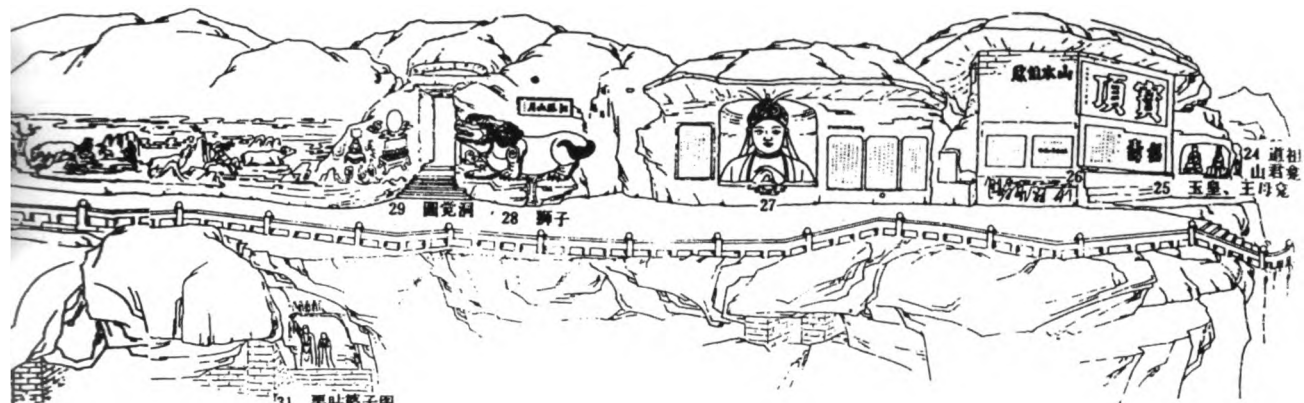
- Bao fumu enzhong jing - 報父母恩忠經 Qinguang Dawang - 秦廣大王
Beishan - 北山 Shiwang jing - 十王經
Biancheng Dawang - 變成大王 Shengshou si - 聖壽寺
bianwen - 變文 Si Lu - 司錄
bianxiang - 變相 Si Ming - 司命
Chujiang Dawang - 初江大王 Songdi Dawang - 宋帝大王
Dafowan - 大佛彎 Su Die - 粟貼
Da Shengci si - 大聖慈寺 Subao Siguan - 速報司官
dazang - 大藏 Taishan Dawang - 太山大王
Dazu - 大足 Wei Junjing - 衛君靖
diyu - 地獄 Wuguan Dawang - 五官大王
Dizang - 地藏 wuxing - 五行
Daoming - 道明 Xianbao siguan - 現報司官
Dingguangfo - 定光佛 Xiaofowan - 小佛彎
Dushi Dawang - 都市大王 Yanluo Tianzi - 閻羅天子
Juxue River - 曲水河 Yulan pen jing - 盂蘭盆經
Mulian - 目蓮 Zhao Zhifeng - 趙智鳳
Pingdeng Wang - 平等大王 Zhuanlun Shengwang - 轉輪聖王

Illustrations



Fig. 1. Schematic drawing of Great Buddha Bend.
Reprinted from Liu, *Dazu shike yanjiu*, np.

造像部位



东崖



Fig. 2. Schematic drawing of Great Buddha Bend.
Reprint from Liu, *Dazu shike yanjiu*, np.



Fig. 3. Relief of the Three Huayan Saints.
Photograph by author.



Fig. 4. Zhao Zhifeng in stone.
Photograph by author.



Fig. 5. Revolving Wheel of Transmigration.
Photograph by author.

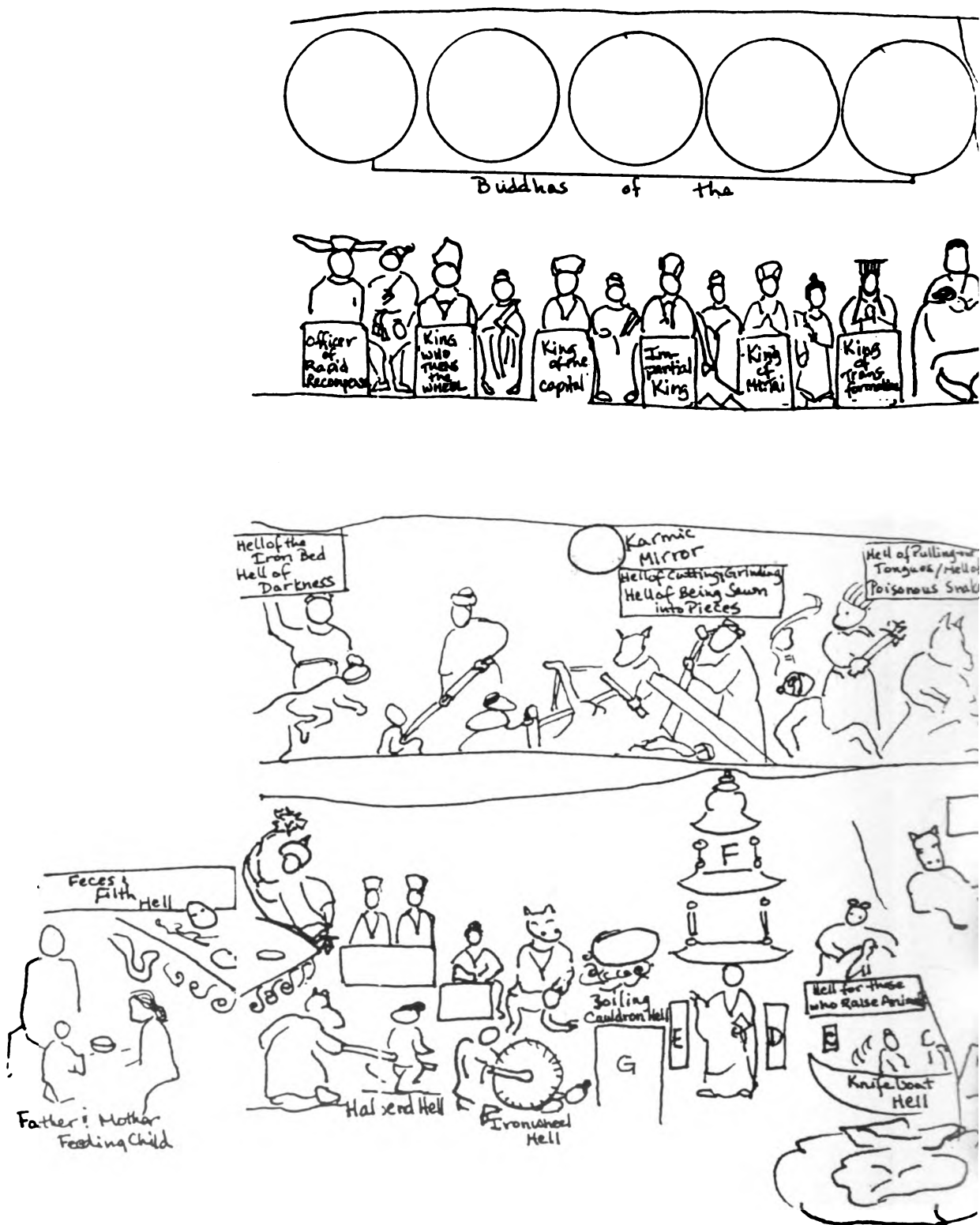


Fig. 6. Schematic drawing of hell tableau at Baodingshan. Drawn by author.

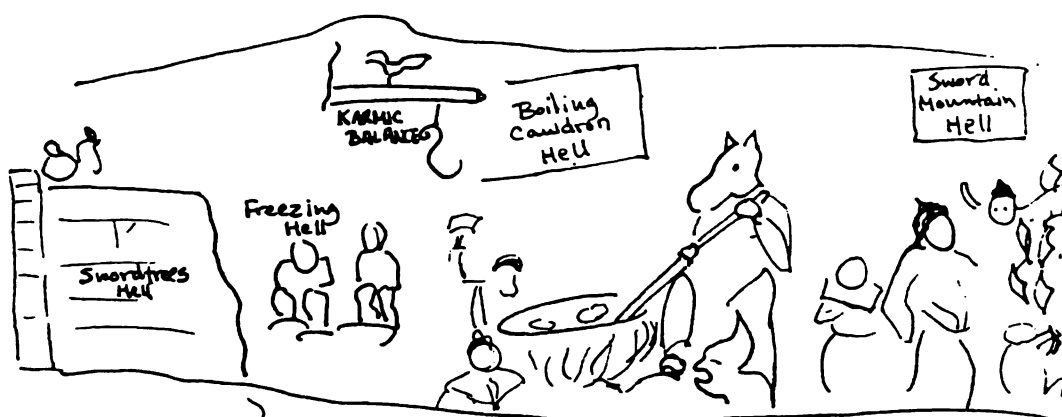
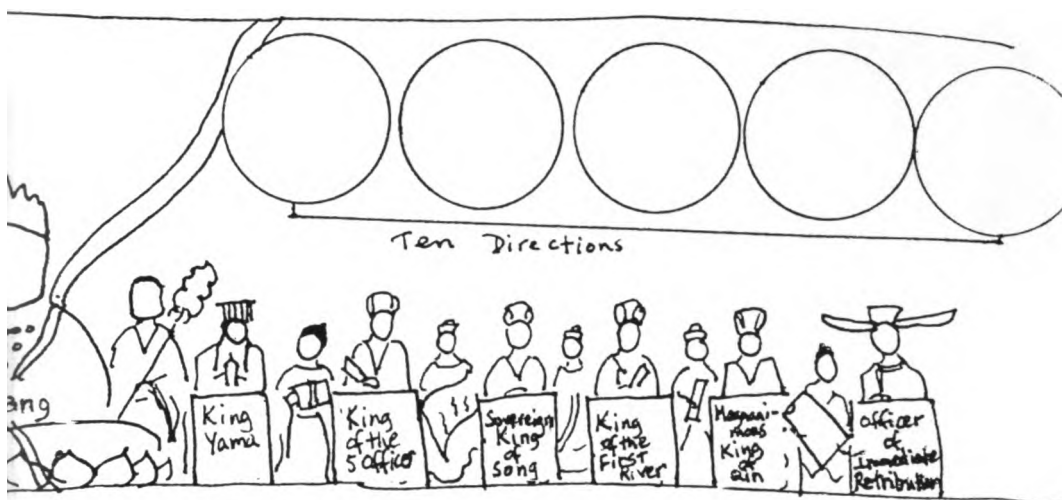




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Admonition against Alcohol relief.
Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



Fig. 10. Short recension of Scripture on the Ten Kings with depiction of Dizang Bodhisattva and begging bowl. Reprinted from Whitfield, The Art of Central Asia, pl. 64-1.

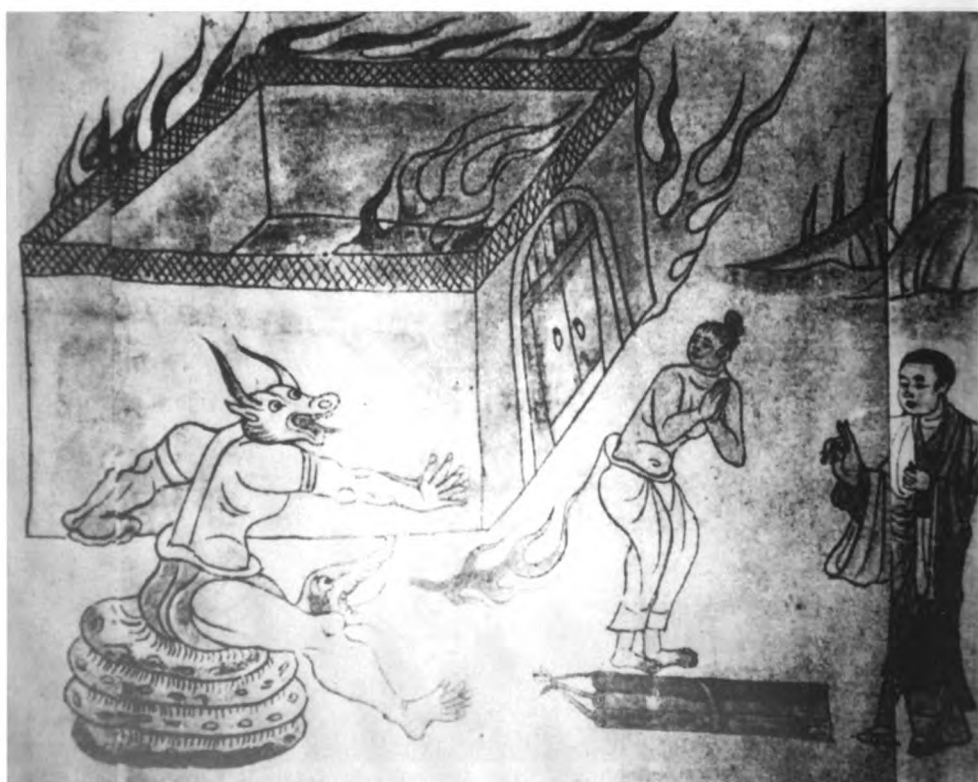


Fig. 11. Depiction from illustrated scroll of the monk Daoming in hell. Reprinted from Teiser, The Scripture on the Ten Kings, pl. 14b.



Fig. 12. Niche number 253, Beishan, Dazu county.
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Fig. 13. The monk Zhao Zhifeng in hell tableau at Baodingshan. Photograph by author.



Fig. 14.
Illustrated scroll depicting
female figures flanking King
Yama. Reprinted from
Huang, *Dunhuang baozang*,
vol. 133, p. 368.



Fig. 15.
Illustrated scroll depicting
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third king. Reprinted from
Teiser, *The Scripture on the
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Fig. 16. Officer of Immediate Retribution
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Fig. 17. Magnanimous King of Qin
at Baodingshan. Photograph by author.



Fig. 18. Officer of Rapid Recompense
at Baodingshan. Photograph by author.



Fig. 19. King Yama at Baodingshan.
Photograph by author.



Fig. 20. King of Transformations
at Baodingshan. Photograph by author.



Fig. 21. King who Turns the Wheel
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Fig. 22. King of the First River at Baodingshan.
Photograph by author.



Fig. 23. Depiction of the River Nai from illustrated scroll.
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vol. 133, p. 367.



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 Photograph by author.

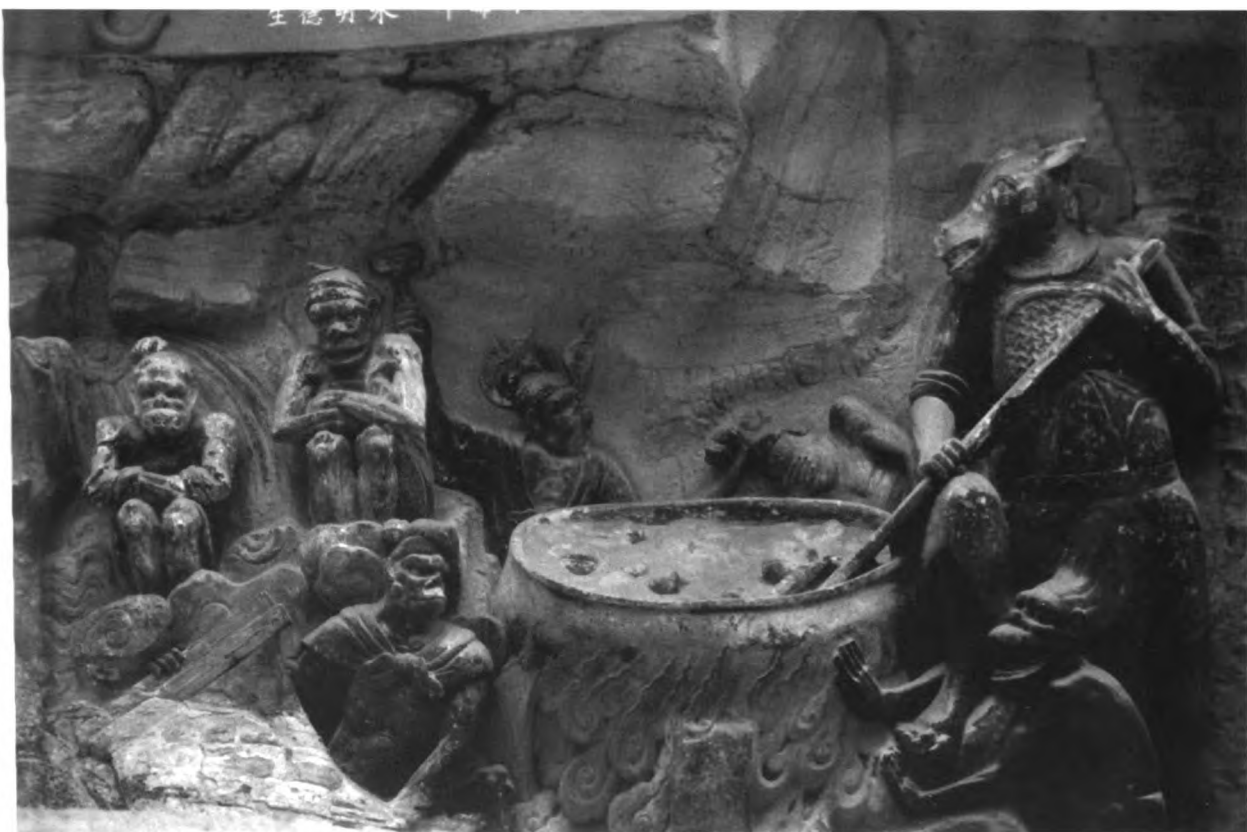


Fig. 25. Upper-level Boiling Cauldron Hell
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 Photograph by author.



Fig. 27. Detail of the Freezing Hell at Baodingshan.
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Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



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 Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



Fig. 34. Detail of damned soul in Swordtree Hell at Baodingshan. Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



Fig. 42. Drawing of Song dynasty cangue. Reprinted from McKnight, *Law and Order in Sung China*, p. 344.

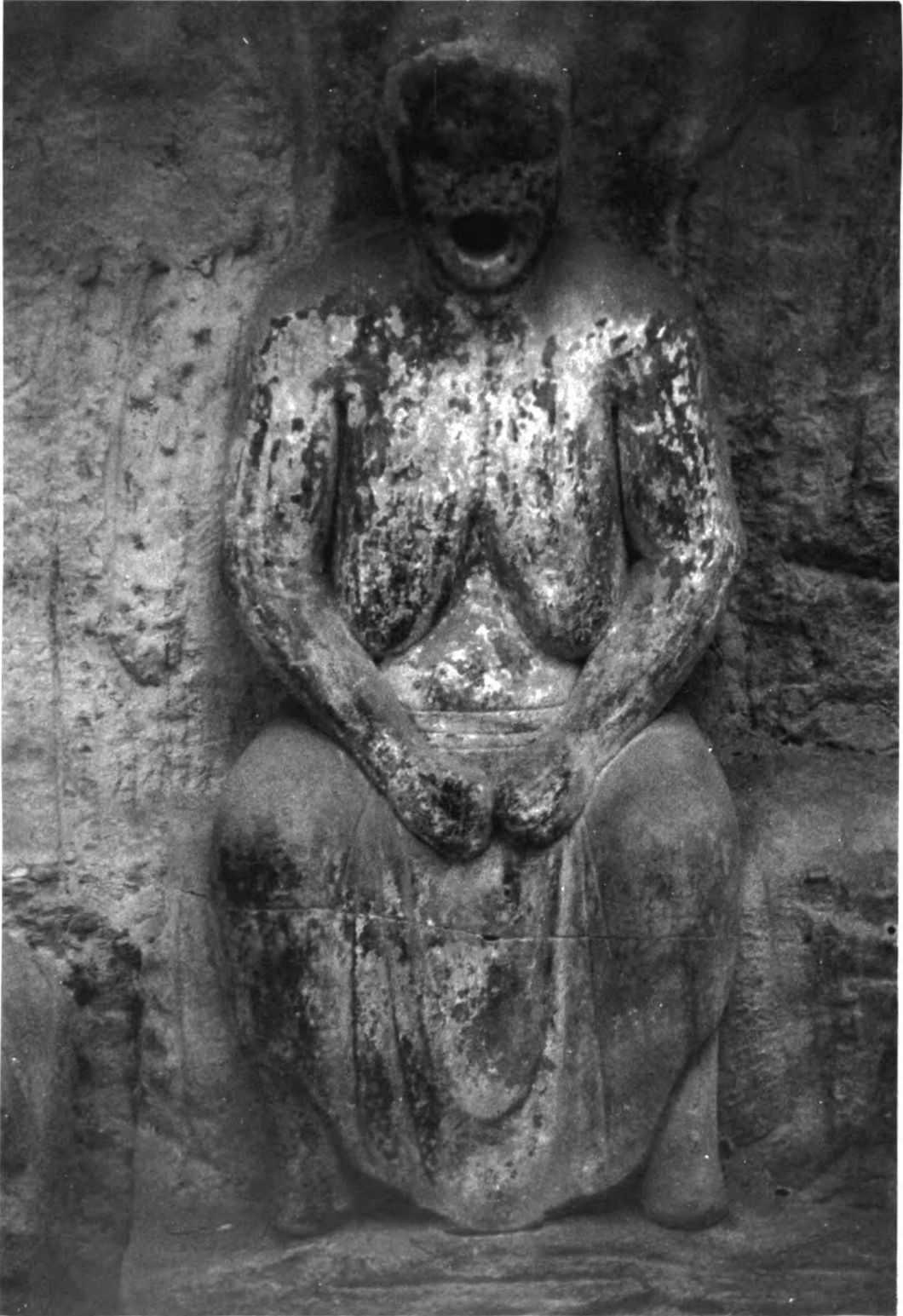


Fig. 43. Depiction of damned soul in Avici Hell.
Photograph by author.



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Photograph by author.



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Reprint from Dazu shike, pl. 155.



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